







England's Happiness  
In a Lineal  
**SUCCESSION;**  
And the  
Deplorable Miseries  
Which ever attended  
Doubtful Titles  
TO THE  
**CROWN,**  
*Historically Demonstrated,*  
BY THE  
**Bloody Wars**  
Between the Two HOUSES  
OF  
York & Lancaster.

L O N D O N :

Printed by H. Clark, for John Taylor, at the  
Globe in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1685.

England's Nobility  
 In a Lineal  
 SUCCESSION  
 And the  
 Deplorable Miseries  
 Which ever attended  
 Doubtful Titles  
 TO THE  
 CROWN  
 BY THE  
 Author of  
 Bloody Battles  
 Between the Two Houses



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# THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

**T**HE Wars between the two Houses of York and Lancaster, present to thy view all the deplorable miseries which it's possible for any Nation to suffer; for, whilst that Quarrel between those two Illustrious Houses lasted, the Kingdom was seldom long at Peace, and therefore no man was ever safe either in Person or Estate: When the House of York prevailed, then those who took part with Lancaster were trampled under foot, and when Lancaster prevailed,

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*prevailed, then those who were friends to the former were sacrificed to the fury of the later. And their Executions were the most Inhumane and Barbarous of any I have ever met withal; for the Conqueror would, in the heat of his fury, lop off the Heads of those of the Vanquished Party, whose misfortune 'twas to fall into his hands, as though they had been but so many Poppies, without affording them the formality of a Tryal, or the least respect to their Greatness or Honour: By which means, there was such a Prodigious effusion of Noble Blood in England, that had not the monstrous issue been happily staid by the Healing-Union of the two Houses, in the Persons of Henry and Elizabeth, whereby both Claims were twisted into one, scarce any of it had remained. Shewing the least kindness, or so much as speaking in favour of the Vanquished Party, was a Crime great enough to ruin those who had either Lands or Mony to lose, and was often improved to High-Treason.*

War,

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War, at the best, is in it self no desirable thing, in regard it is ever the occasion of much mischief, and therefore Peace is always to be preferred before it; but a Civil War, wherein a Nation is divided against it self, is still more mischievous, and hath a thousand miseries always attending on it, which other Wars are strangers to.

In other Wars we weaken our Neighbours, but in this our selves, by wasting our Wealth and destroying our People, which are our strength; in other Wars we are gainers by Victory, but in this we are losers; he that Vanquisheth having the same cause of Grief in his Victory, as the Vanquished has in his Overthrow. In other Wars, we fight against our Enemies; but in this, our Friends; the Father against the Son, and one Brother against another, as though all Paternal affection and the very sense of Duty were <sup>erased</sup> out of our Natures; and it is almost incredible to believe, how many Bloody Battels were fought, what Multitudes of Men

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were slaughtered, how many Treasons and horrid Conspiracies were carried on and perpetrated, how much Noble Blood was spilt, how many Families were ruined, how many Barbarous Executions, how many unreasonable Fines, and perpetual Banishments hapned, during this unfortunate War.

And yet, as though they were now grown weary of Peace, and tired with that confluence of Happiness and Felicity which they had long enjoyed, as the consequence of it, the late Exclusioners endeavoured, might and main, to involve us in the same confusions again, and bring this Nation into the like, if not far greater and more deplorable, miseries: For the natural consequence of that Audacious Bill, had they been able to have brought the Monster to maturity and perfection, would have proved fatal to England; by opening a way to various pretences, and dividing of us into Parties. When thou hast therefore beheld all the Miseries and Calamities which this History presents to thy view, then

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then consider with thy self, that this is the wretched state whereinto the Factionous SHAFTSBITARIANS, those Enemies of the House of YORK, were endeavouring to involve their Native Country; for thou maist assure thy self, that the same Bill, which should have Excluded our Sovereign from his Rightful Inheritance, would have Excluded England from its long enjoyed Happiness.

Nothing sets off the Excellency and Glory of things so much as their Contraries, and therefore my design, in writing this History, is, to make these Calamities, which their various and doubtful Titles to the Crown brought upon the Nation, serve as a foile to set off the happiness, which, in despite of Malice and Faction, we enjoy, in having but ONE CERTAIN and UNDOUBTED TITLE, and that devolved upon a Prince, in whom all the Vertues of his Royal Predecessors meet.



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Thou wilt find this History, peradventure, as pleasant as any thou ever Readeſt, in regard it affords thee ſuch variety of matter, and relates the particular methods they took in Undermining and Dethroning each other. In the Life of Richard, thou wilt find the ill effects of a Princes coming to the Throne in his Minority, the Insolence of Subjects when they have gotten any advantage of their Prince, the danger which Favourites generally involve theſe Monarchs into, who indulge them a too great familiarity, and permit them to uſe their Names and Authorities as a Property only to advance themſelves to Wealth and Grandeur, together with the uncertainty of all Sublunary Enjoyments. In the Lives of the two ſucceeding Henries, we may ſee the advantages of Courage and Reſolution in Princes, and how much it tends to the bettering the State of thoſe Kingdoms over which they Reign: And in the Life of Henry the Sixth, we may inform our ſelves of the diſadvantages

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of Softness and want of Courage in Kings, and the opportunity it gives to aspiring Subjects, as well as Foreign Adversaries, together with the various Methods, whereby the House of York, which had been depress'd and trodden down by Henry the Fifth, came to raise it self again in his Reign, so as to be able to contend with him for the Crown, who had in himself and his two Predecessors quietly enjoy'd it for the space of Fifty eight Years. In the Life of Edward the Fourth, we may see the advantage of educating Princes in the School of Mars, and seasoning their younger years with Feats of War; for at nineteen Years of Age he kept the Town of Calice against King Henry; and at twenty won the Battel at Northampton, wherein he took Henry Prisoner: Together with the fickleness of Fortune, in Edward's being thrust from his Throne by his too powerful Favourite, and Henry's being advanced to it from a Prison; And the changeable Humours of the Mobile, who  
sometimes

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*Sometimes Adored one and sometimes the other. In Richard the Third, we may see the danger and disquiet that ever attends those Princes who Usurp the Crown without a just Title, and the speed Heaven makes to Revenge the spilling INNOCENT and ROYAL BLOOD. And from the flourishing Condition we find this Kingdom blest withal, under the Reign of Henry the Seventh, we may learn the happiness and advantage of a Nation's having such a Prince to Rule over them, whose Title to the Crown is so clear, that it is beyond all Exception, as his was, when united with that of his Wives, and thereby leaves no room for any Pretenders whatsoever, unless for such MOCK-PRINCES, and WOULD-BE-KINGS, as Symnel and Perkin.*

*I have endeavoured, throughout the whole course of this History, to relate matter of Fact, just as it was acted in those times which it concerned, as near as I could inform my self, by comparing  
divers*

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*divers of the best Historians together, and have, to the utmost of my power, rendered the Pretences of both Houses as plain as possible, in hopes that the many miseries, which attended that Unfortunate Quarrel, may serve, at once, to shew us their misery and our own happiness, under the Influence of the most Auspicious and Promising Reign of our present Sovereign, James the Second, who derives his Title from the happy Union of the two Houses, whereby that War was ended, and a sure Foundation laid for a lasting and advantageous Peace, whereby the Right of both Houses meet and concenter in him.*

*And so I shall conclude, with my hearty Prayers that the Peace and Tranquillity, which we at present enjoy, may last for ever; And that his Majesty may survive all his Enemies, if there are any such to be found, who are so injurious to themselves, as to be Adversaries to Him, &c.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Civil Wars  
Between the two Houses of  
YORK  
AND  
LANCASTER.

**K**ING Richard the Second, in whose unfortunate Reiga the flame of this Unnatural and Bloody War, which is the Subject of this History, was first kindled, was the Son of that Brave and Walike Prince,  
B Edward,

*Edward*, commonly called the *Black Prince*,  
 and Grand-Son to *Edward the Third*,  
 King of *England*, whom he Succeeded in  
 the Right of his Father, *Edward the Black  
 Prince* who died before King *Edward*. He  
 was of such a comly and graceful Perso-  
 nage, that he is said to be the most Beauti-  
 ful Prince, that ever wore the *English* Dia-  
 dem; he had a Soul Noble and Generous,  
 and his mind was Richly endowed, by God  
 and Nature, with all those Qualifications  
 which were requisite, or could possibly be  
 desired in, a person of his Birth and For-  
 tunes, so that his Subjects promised them-  
 selves abundance of Happiness, under  
 the influence of his Reign; nor would they  
 have been deceived therein, if he had not  
 suffered particular Persons to Monopo-  
 lize his Favour and Affections, to the in-  
 jurie and prejudice of the Publick. But  
 being strangely infatuated by the smooth  
 and subtil insinuations of his Favorites, and  
 inclined to the humours of his Servants,  
 he was easily prevailed upon to follow  
 their advice, how hurtful and pernicious  
 foever, and hate all Counsel which any  
 way contradicted his Inclinations. So that  
 he gave himself wholly up to the Guid-  
 ance of those, who making too bold with  
 the goodness of his Nature, and the  
 weakness

weakness of his Youth, used his Power and Authority, only as a Property to advance themselves to Wealth and Grandeur. And with a profuse liberality, he bestowed Princely rewards on those whose only merit was a disloyal Silence, or a base and sordid Compliance, contrary to the dictates of their Judgments; the Consequence whereof proved fatal to him, and issued in his utter ruin. And the truth is, his Education was more to be blamed than his Nature, for there appeared in him many good Inclinations, which certainly might have been improved into great abilities and perfections, had they not been prevented by corrupt Flatteries in his Youth, for want of a better fixation under the more solid and awful Tutorage of his Father, or Grandfather. He was Crowned *January* the Twenty first, in the Year one Thousand three Hundred and Seventy seven, being not full Eleven years old. No King, that ever Sate on the *English* Throne, was better beloved by his Subjects than he; nor had any Prince more wise and able Counsellors, several Noble men being appointed to Govern his Person, and Kingdom, during his Minority, which were afterwards reduced to the Person



of *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Holland*, who was chosen to the Office of Protector, by the Unanimous consent of Parliament. But the King, being rendered by the extravagant Counsels of those, who had insinuated themselves into his Favour, as unapt to be Governed, as his tender Years made him unable to Govern, quickly disliked this choice of the Parliament, and chose for Protector *Richard Scrope*, whom the Parliament had a little before chosen to be Chancellor; nor was it long ere he disliked and dismissed him also, because he refused to ratify some extravagant Grants, which he had made to several persons of mean and abject Fortunes, and had Loyalty and Courage enough to tell him the inconvenience, and evil consequences thereof; whereat *Richard* storming, and disdaining to have his Profuseness questioned by an Officer, took the Great Seal from him, and kept it for some time in his own Hands, until he had therewith Authorized those Gifts, he had bestowed on his Creatures.

Among the many fawning and flattering persons, whose ill advised Counsels precipitated this King into most of those rash and inconsiderate Actions, whereby he lost the love of his Subjects, and gave



advantage to his Enemies, the Chief were *Alexander Nevil* Archbishop of *York*, *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Michael Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Nicolas Bambridge* Alderman of *London*, and *Robert Tresillian* Chiefe Justice, who, having made the Law and the Seat of Justice a snare to ruin and destroy others, was at last served with the same sauce, by being put to a Shameful and Ignominious death.

The first mention we find in History, of the Duke of *Lancasters* aspiring to the Crown, is an Information given in unto the King, by a certain Frier, that the Duke did secretly conspire and plot his death; desiring, that his Information might be kept secret, and not be divulged to any person whatsoever, until he had by convincing Proofs made good the Accusation, and so he might be the more securely and warrantably Attached. Notwithstanding which, the King acquainted two of his Chaplains therewith, and they, suspecting their own safety in regard of the Dukes power and greatness, if they should conceal it and it should afterwards come to his knowledge, persuaded the King to acquaint the Duke therewith, which was presently done, and the Duke being somewhat surprized

at this unexpected Discovery; in a most humble manner intreated his Majesty not to believe or give credit to the Accusation, assuring him, that he never entertained so detestable a thought, nor had so horrid and disloyal an intention ever entered his Breast; nor could such a design any way turn to his advantage. For if he should (which God forbid) intend any such thing, it would be impossible for him to effect it, since he should, by so wicked a Parricide, justly fall into the hatred and detestation of all men; and for the better fixing the belief of his innocency in the mind of the King, he offered to prove it by his Sword, as the Custom of those times did allow, and earnestly desired the Frier might be put into safe Custody, and if it might stand with his Majesties Good liking, into the Custody of *John Holland*, a Person, though Brother to the King by the Mothers side, yet absolutely the Dukes Creature in hopes of marrying his Daughter *Elizabeth*; which being granted, the discovery was effectually stifled, for the Frier, the night before it was to have been Tryed, was Murthered by him who had him in Custody.

Not long after this, the Duke retired in  
dis-

discontent to a Castle of his own at *Pomfret* in *Yorkshire*, and began to raise men, but the Princess of *Wales*, the Kings Mother, fearing the King might be in some danger, interposed between them, and and by her Mediation composed that difference. After which the Duke of *Lancaster* laying claim to the Kingdom of *Spain*, in right of his Wife, and designing to go thither to take Possession of it; the King furnished him with Shipping, Men and Pay for six Months, and so great was his desire of getting rid of him, that at his departure he honoured him like a King, presenting him with a Crown Royal, his Wife being presented with the like by the Queen, both of them being very Rich; many of the Nobility, and Gentry, attended the Duke in this Voyage, and being assisted by the King of *Portugal*, who had Married one of his Daughters, he Invaded *Castile*, and took several strong Towns, but at last a Peace was concluded between him and *John* King of *Spain*, wherein it was agreed, that King *Johns* Eldest Son should Marry the Lady *Catharine*, another of the Dukes Daughters, and that the Duke should receive Two hundred Thousand Nobles in hand, and Ten thousand Marks yearly,

during the Lives of him and his Dutcheſs, in conſideration whereof he was to ceaſe all further claim to that Crown.

About this time that *Lancaſter* went to *Spain*, the *French* King threatned *England* with a War, having made a vaſt preparations in order thereunto, which was not then in a very good condition to defend it ſelf, by reaſon of the diſagreement between the King and his People, upon the account of *Richards* Governing according to the Wills of thoſe who Governed him, and ſuffering all things to paſs under the hands of the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Oxford*, and ſome few more of his Favourites. However a Parliament was called, and great numbers of People raiſed out of each County, and lodged Twenty miles round *London*, to the end they might be ready upon all occaſions, but want of Money occaſioning a neglect of their Pay, which is the key of Military Diſcipline, there was none who did command, nor none who did obey, but they fell to pillaging the Country, whereupon they were diſmiſſed, only they were enjoyned to return, when commanded.

When the Parliament met, one of the firſt things that were done, was the making the Earl of *Oxford* (one of *Richards* Chief

Chief Favourites) Duke of *Ireland*, which occasioned whispering and dislike in all men, so that Money, being afterwards demanded for the present occasion, it was denied, upon pretence that the Earl of *Suffolk's* Treasure was enough to supply all the Kings wants, accusing him of many Misdemeanors, and requiring to have his Accounts seen. The House of Peers, especially the Duke of *Glocester*, approved of this request of the Commons. Whereupon *Richard*, resolving not to lose his Favourites, nor suffer them to be oppressed, determined, as some Historians report, to put his Uncle the Duke of *Glocester* to death, that so, by taking revenge upon him, he might procure reverence and fear from others, supposing, that the best way, to make himself happy and to be obeyed by his Subjects, was, by procuring himself to be feared. A Supper was therefore provided in the City, to which *Glocester*, and the rest who had declared themselves Enemies to *Suffolk*, were invited, that so they might have been there slain, when they least thought of any such thing. The Chief man, who was imployed to manage this affair, was *Nicholas Bambridge*, who had been Lord Mayor of *London* the preceding year. But *Richard Stone*, who was then Mayor, detesting

detesting so great a wickedness, gave the Duke notice of it, and he did the same to the rest, so that they thought it more convenient to content themselves with private Suppers at home, than to go to a publick one, and pay the Charge of their entertainment, with the loss of their Lives; the Discovery of this design increased the disgust between the King and his Uncle, which was too great before.

The King, finding the Parliament so averse in their proceedings, retired to *Eltham*, and being informed, that nothing would be done by them unless the Great Seal were taken away from *Suffolk*, he Commanded them to send Forty of their Chief Members to him, that he might treat with them, and resolve on what was fit to be done; and they, thinking so great a number not convenient, sent only the Duke of *Glocester* and the Bishop of *Ely*, to beseech him that, since there had been great sums of Money expended, he would suffer them to take the Account, and that since his presence in Parliament was necessary, they intreated him to repair thither, and to remember, that there was an Ancient Law, which permitted the Parliament to return home, if the  
King

King, not being hindered by sickness, should absent himself forty days together from them. Being very much displeased with this Message, he told them, he saw plainly, that their designs tended to Rebellion, and therefore he should not do amiss, if he should call in his Cousin the *French* King to his Assistance, since it would redound less to his dishonour, to submit himself to a King, than to his own Subjects. The two Commissioners indeavoured to shew him, that the Parliament had no such intention, and that if he would believe those who informed him otherwise, yet that which he had said would neither prove Honourable nor Advantageous to him, nor would it effect what his Passion promised him from thence, the People of *England* being strong enough to defend themselves against the *French*, whom they did so much abhor, that they would never endure to be Governed by them: Telling him moreover, that he ought to pretend to rule the *French*, and that the Evils, which were likely to insue upon his doing as he had said, would fall only on himself to his present ruine, and perpetual infamy in after Ages. The King was hereby perswaded to return to *London*. Where *Suffol*'s Misdemeanours were the



the first thing that was inquired into, and, some Historians say, the Judgement, which insued thereon, was, that he would be Degraded, and have his Goods Confiscated, and to lose his Life if the King pleased; others say it was only the loss of his Office, a fine of twenty thousand Marks, and the loss of his Pension, of three Thousand a year, which was paid him out of the *Exchequer*. The King was very much grieved at the misfortune of his Favourite, whose faults had brought such infamy upon him, that he could no longer be defended.

Complaint was likewise made, that, by the Covetousness of the Kings Ministers, the Publick Revenu was vainly consumed, the King insufferably abused and defrauded, the Common People miserably impoverished, the Rents and profits of the Nobles and Great Men much impaired, and their poor Tenants in many places forced to abandon their Farm, and leave them empty and desolate. Whereupon the King consented, that fourteen Persons should be made Choice of to regulate those things, and took an Oath to stand to what they did, to incourage them in their proceedings, and not to revoke any Article of their power, but to confirm  
and



and hold good whatever they did, for such a time. And it was confirmed by Act of Parliament, that if any man should advise the King to revoke their Power, though he should not revoke it according to this advice, yet he should, for giving the advice, forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and for a Second offence be Drawn and Hanged as a Traitor. Whereupon the King, by his Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, confirmed them in their Power in the following words.

Richard King &c. To all those, to whom these Letters shall come to be seen and heard, Greeting, We being duly Conscious of the Greivous Complaints of the Lords and Commons of our Realm in this present Parliament Assembled, That our Profits, and Rents, and the Revenues of our Kingdom by Private and Insufficient Counsel, and the Ill Government as well of certain of our Great Officers as diverse other Persons being near Our Person, are so much Consumed, Wasted, Embezeled, Given away, Granted, and Alienated, Destroyed, and evilly disposed of and Expended, that We are so much Impoverished and Stripped of Treasure, and Means, and the Substance of Our Crown so Diminished, and Destroyed, that We are neither able to sustain Honourably,

ably, as We ought, the State of our Household, nor Maintain and Manage those Wars, wherewith Our Realm is Environ'd, without great and outrageous Oppressions, and Charges on Our People, greater then they can bear. And also, that the good Laws, Statuts, and Customs, of Our said Realm, to which We are bound by Oath and Obliged to maintaine, are not, nor have not been duly Observed, nor Executed, Nor full Justice or Right done to Our said People, and many Disinherisons and other great Mischiefs and Damages have happened to Our People, and whole Realm.

Now We, for the Honour of God, and the Good of Us and Our Realm, and for the Quiet and Relief of Our People, willing, against the said Mischiefs, to Establish a Good and Meet Remedy, as We have already of Our Free Will, at the request of the Lords and Commons, Ordained and Assigned such Persons for Our Great Officers, that is to say, Our Chancellour, Treasurer, and Keeper of Our Privy Seal, as We esteem Good, Faithful, and Sufficient for the Honour, and Profit of Us, and Our Realm. So also of Our real Authority, certain Knowledge, Good Pleasure and Free Will, and by the Advice and Assent of the Prelats, Lords, and Commons, in full Parliament, in Aid  
of

of the Good Government of Our Realm, and the well and due Execution of Our Laws, and for the Relief in time, of that Miserable Condition, under which both We and Our Subjects have long laboured; having confidence in the good advice, sence, and discretion of the Most Honourable Father in God William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Alexander Arch-Bishop of York, Our most dear Uncles Edmond Duke of York, and Thomas Duke of Gloucester, the Honourable Fathers in God William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, and Nicolas Abbot of Waltham, Our Beloved and Faithful Richard Earl of Arundel, John Lord Cobham, Richard le Scroop, and John Devereux, have Ordained, Assigned and Deputed them to be of Our Great and Continual Council, for one whole Year next after the Date hereof, to Survey and Examine together with Our said Great Officers and Ministers of whatever State, Degree, or Condition they be within Our Household, or without, and to inquire, and take information by all such ways as they shall think meet, of all Rents, Revenues, and Profits belonging to Us, or which ought to appertain to Us, either within the Realm, or without. And of all Gifts, Grants, Alienations, and Confirmations, by Us made, of any Lands, Rents, Tene-  
ments,

ments, Annuities, Profits, Revenues, Wards, Mortgages, Escheats, Forfeitures, Franchises, Liberties, Voidance of Arch-Bishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbeys, Priories, Farms of Houses, Possessions of Aliens &c. And also of all Revenues, and Profits as well of Our said Realm, as Our Lands, Lordships, Cities, Villages, and other Possessions beyond the Seas, and of the Benefices, and Possessions, and other Revenues, of all that are in Rebellion against the Pope. And of the Carrying Money out of the Realm by the Collectors of the Pope, or the Procurators of Cardinals, Lumbards, or other Persons. And likewise of the profits of Our Customs, and all Subsidies Granted to Us by the Clergy and Laity, since the day of Our Coronation. And of all Fees, Wages, and Rewards of Officers and Ministers Great or Small, and of Annuities, and other Rewards granted, and Gifts made to any Persons in Fee, or for Term of Life, or in any other manner. And of Lands, Tenements, Kents, Revenues, and Forfeitures, bargained or sold to the Prejudice and Damage of Our Crown. And also concerning the Jewels and Goods which were Our Grandfathers, at the time of his Death. And of Charters, and General Pardons, and how general payments have been Levied, and Expended, how Garrisons and Forts have been Maintained,

Maintained, and of all defaults, and Missions, as well in Our Courts, as in all other Places of Our Realm. And by what Persons Our Revenues and the Substance of Our Crown have been withdrawn or Diminished, or the Common Law Interrupted, or Delayed, or any other Damage that hath hapned to Us, Giving, and by these Presents Granting, of Our Authority, and by the Advice and Assistance of Our said Subjects, unto Our said Counsellors, or any six of them, and to Our Great Officers aforesaid, full Power and Authority, General and Special, to enter our Palace and Household, and to call before them all Our Officers, and to Command all Rolls, Records and other Monuments, and Evidences; and all Defaults, Wasts and Excesses found in Our said Household, and in other Courts and Places, and all Deceits, Extortions, Oppressions, Dangers, and Grievances whatsoever, that are to the Prejudice, Damage, and Distress of Us and Our Crown, and the Estate of Our said Realm in General (though not herein particularly Named, Expressed or Specified) to Amend, Correct, Repair, Redress, Reform and put into Good and due Order, and Establishment: And also to hear and receive the Complaints of all Our Leige People, as well for Us as themselves, against Our said Officers and Counsel-

Counsellors; And Oppressions, Wrongs, and Injuries which cannot so well be decided in the Courts of Common Law. And to discuss and finally Determine all the matters aforesaid, and full Execution thereof, to award as to them shall seem most Meet, for the Honour and Profit of Us and Our Estate, and the Redintegration of the Rights and profit of our Crown, and the better Governance of the Peace and Laws of our Kingdom, and the Relief of Our said People. In which Proceeding if difference of Opinion happen among Our said Counsellors, the same shall be concluded by Majority of Votes. And we Command and Charge all Prelats, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, the Treasurer, and Controller, and all other Officers of Our Household, Justices de Banco, and other Officers, Ministers and other Leige Subjects what soever, That to Our said Counsellors, and Officers in manner aforesaid, they be Obedient, Aiding and Assisting. In Witness Whereof &c. Given under Our Great Seal, the Nineteenth day of November.

This Parliament likewise gave the Duke of Ireland Thirty Thousand Marks, which was paid in by the Admiral Clifson, for the Ransom of John of Bretaign, Count of Pointivers, who was his Son in Law, and had been taken by the English

in the Battail of *Antmoy* 1364. This was the only thing they did, during the whole Sessions, which pleased *Richard*, and there was something in that too, that did not please him, for it was upon this condition, that he would go by *Easter* into *Ireland*, and take Possession of what the King had given him in that *Kingdom*. It was a prodigious Sum in those days, yet they willingly parted with so much Treasure, rather than have him still at Court, to Seduce and Infatuate the King.

The Parliament was no sooner Dissolved, but *Richard* thought all that they had done was Dissolved likewise, at least *De facto*, accounting all their Complaints against *Suffolk*, and the rest, as meer trifles, and therefore he received them all into as much or greater Favour than ever, who being full of revenge for the Affronts, and Injuries, which they fancied they had received, by their Mischievous Whispers and fatal Suggestions they indeavoured to instil their destructive Poyson into the Royal Breast; and that their private Spleen might carry some shew of publick Respect and Loyalty, they insinuated to the King that he was not above, nay scarce, half a King, telling him, that he

in-



indeed bore the Sword, but others sway-  
ed it; he had the Title of a King, but the  
late Established Council had the Authori-  
ty, who used his Name only as a pretext  
to colour their Illegal proceedings, and  
accounted his person but a bare Cipher,  
to make their Number the Greater by its  
addition; without which they would be no-  
thing, but now all things are so much at  
their Devotion, that you can neither de-  
mand nor command without their Limi-  
tations, nay your very Bounty, which is  
the most Celebrate and Necessary Vertue  
in a Prince, is restrained, and your Affec-  
tion confined to Frown, or Favour as they  
please to prescribe. By which suggesti-  
ons, though he were not naturally of a  
Cruel disposition, yet they drew him into  
many violent and unprincely Courses, to  
support those, against all Opposition,  
whom he had at first advanced without  
merit, Resolving to use an absolute power  
in all things, and Give and Forgive at his  
Pleasure.

*Easter*, the time prefixed by the Parlia-  
ment for *Ireland's* being gon, was now  
come, but he cared not for the Voyage,  
however to wheedle the People into a be-  
lief that he was repairing thither, he  
went to *Bristol*, and the King with him

on



on pretence of seeing him take shipping. But when they got to *Bristol* they went not to Sea, but passed forward into *Wales*. Where the Favourits resolved, that it was impossible for them to subsist any longer, without ridding out of the way those, who would otherwise undo them, the Chief whereof were, *Glocester*, *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and the Young Earl of *Darby*, Eldest Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who afterwards laid the foundation of those unhappy Wars, which are the Subject of this History. Delays in a business of that consequence, they thought, were dangerous; and the Treacheries, formerly framed against *Glocester*, rendered it impossible for them to accomplish their ruine by the same methods, and therefore the Law was thought to be the safest and most likely means, in regard it was more Masked and Obscure from the penetration of the Vulgar. Whereupon as if *Ireland's* Voyage had been quite forgot, they repair to *Nottingham*, whither they summoned divers Citizens of *London*, the Sheriffs of the several Counties, and all the Judges of *England*. The *Londoners* were, in requital of some favours they had formerly received, to prove the Crimes they had contrived against them; and

and they inquired of the Sheriffs, what men they could raise against the Lords, and Commanded them, that they should suffer none to be returned to serve in the next Parliament, but such as should be Nominated by the King, and his Council; neither of which fully answered their expectations; but the Judges were more Compliant, for *Tresilian*, who was Chief Justice, Indited Two Thousand Persons at *Coventry*, and he and one *Blacke*, an Apprentice of the Law, perused and approved under their Hands and Seals, the Inditements against the Lords. And the better to colour their proceeding with the appearance of Justice, he framed three Questions to be proposed to the Judges, two whereof were concerning the late Act of Parliament, which gave power to the Fourteen Lords, to inspect into, and punish the miscarriages of the Kings Ministers; and the other, concerning the Judgment against *Suffolk*, designing thereby, says a Modern Author, that what *Ireland* and the rest had resolved on, might, by being delivered as the Judges Opinion, pass current for Law; the Queries being so framed, and proposed, that it was more easie to understand thereby, what the Proposer would have to be Law, than

than what was really so. And it appears they proceeded therein against their Consciences, since some of them and particularly *Robert Belknappe* Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, as *Knyghton* reports, strenuously refused to sign the Resolutions, till *Ireland* and *Suffolk* forced him to it, by threatening to kill him, if he did not comply; and when he had signed them, he burst forth into Tears, and said, I now want nothing but an Halter, to bring me to that Death I have deserved. The first Query was, Whether the King being forced to give his consent to the Acts of the last Parliament, to the prejudice of his Prerogative, he might not Lawfully revoke them? The Second, That if he might do so, what punishment did they deserve, who had forced his Consent? The Third was, Whether the Judgment, given against *Suffolk*, were not erroneous, and therefore revokeable? To the First and Third, they answered they were revokeable; and to the Second, that, as Traytors, they ought to be punished with death. There were Ten in all, but they were all comprised in those Three.

But this difficulty, of getting the Law cast in their own Mould, being over, yet remained a greater to be grappled with, viz.

and

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the Arming themselves with Power sufficient to inable them to execute, what they had so well designed. Wherefore they sent about privately to raise men, but they came in slowly, in regard the Lords were loved as much as they were hated, nor could they manage their design with such secrecie, but that the Lords heard of it. Wherefore, to take off all ill Impressions which were by *Ireland*, and the rest made against them in the Kings Mind, his Uncle, the Duke of *Glocester*, who was the Chief of those Lords who were thus Combined against, voluntarily before the Bishop of *London*, and several of the Nobility, deposed upon Oath, that he had never designed any thing but the Service and Honour of the King and Kingdom, that his only Crime was, that he had hated and still did hate *Ireland*, with the contents of which Oath, the Bishop did, upon the Dukes request, acquaint the King, assuring him of the Dukes good intentions, and intreating his better opinion of him, and had prevailed, had not *Suffolk*, when he perceived the King inclining to a good opinion of the Duke, began to exasperate him against him, saying, the Dukes mind was full of Deceit, Ambition and Treason, to which the Bishop smartly replied, be  
silent

silent, Sir, it becomes not you to talk; who stand condemned in Parliament, and are now alive only by the Kings Grace and Favour, whereat *Richard* was so offended, that he commanded the Bishop out of his Presence: whereupon the Lords thought it high time to provide for their own safety, and endeavour to obviate the ruin which was preparing for them, wherefore advising together, they resolved to stand upon their Guard, and with all imaginable speed raised great numbers of Armed Men.

*Richard*, being informed thereof, intended to surprise them singly, and thereby prevent their Uniting, wherefore *Arundel* being farthest from the rest, and most exposed to danger, he commanded the Earl of *Northumberland* to apprehend him, who, in order thereunto, went with some Forces to *Rigate* in *Surrey*, but found him too well provided, and in a condition rather to offend than be offended, so that he thought it better to return without doing any thing, than by a rash attempt to discover the reason of his coming. However the King did not quit his design, but gave the like order to divers others, commanding that if they could not take him alive, they should bring him dead

But he being informed thereof, by *Glocester* who had better intelligence, marched all night to *Haringey Park*, where he found the Duke and *Warwick*, with a great number of Soldiers. And *Richard* beginning now to fear they were too strong for him, sent the Bishop of *Ely*, who was then Chancellor, to perswade them to present themselves before him at *Westminster*, promising they should have their Grievances redressed, and have the King's safe Conduct, but they were hard to be prevailed upon, in regard they had little belief of, and therefore were unwilling to trust to their fair promises, since where there was neither shame of Infamy, nor fear of Punishment: breach of Promise and treachery might on'y have been looked upon as terms of Wisdom, and Subtily. But the Chancellour, who was ~~very~~ Cordial, and upright in his Mediation, perswading them not to stick at that, since the Good of the Kingdom depended thereon, and passing his word that if there were any fraud intended, he would give them timely advertisment, they consented upon the security, and there being upon the day when they were to appear above a Thousand Armed Men, secretly placed in Ambush, about the Meers,

Meers, to cut them off as they passed by the Chancellor, according to his promise, sent them word of it, and *Richard* wondering they did not come, the Chancellor told him, it was because he did not keep his word with them, he disowned his knowledg of it, and Commanded the men to be cut in pieces, but they upon notice despersed themselves. And *Richard* having promised the Lords a safe Conduct a Second time, they presented themselves before him on their knees, in the Great Hall at Westminster, where he sat arrayed in his Robes, of Majesty, and having his Crown on his Head, and the Scepter in his Hand, and there it was concluded, that all differences on both sides should be refered to the determination of the next Parliament, which the King told them should begin the next day after the Purification of the Blessed Virgin; and that then both parties should have Justice done them, according to the Laws, and in the mean time all of them should be in the Kings protection, without injuring each other. And so after some Friendly discourse, and drinking with the King, they departed; but knowing the Malice and Perfidiousness of the Favourites, they thought it not best to separate, but, with



a Vigilant Eye, observe their Motions. However *Ireland*, and the rest had no mind to the Justice of the next Parliament, but rather chose to endeavour the securing themselves by Arms. To which end *Ireland* was all this while secretly raising Men in *Cheshire*, and *Wales*, by the Kings Commission, or Connivance at least, as appears by his commanding Sir *Thomas Molineux*, a Man of great Courage, and Valour, who was then Constable of the Castle of *Chester*, to accompany and safe Conduct him, with all the Forces he could make, into his Presence. When he had got together about Five Thousand fighting Men, he Marched towards *London*, concluding, that when he had joyned those to the Forces, which were already there, he might be strong enough to make his Party good against the Lords: Who being informed of his Raising Men and that he was on his March towards *London*, with his new Raised Forces, they devided themselves, that they might hinder his passage. It was *Derby's* fortune to meet with him, and was first discovered by *Ireland* himself, who Marching with Standards Royal, and being puffed up with Pride and confidence, expected not to be interrupted, fancying that others were as full of Fear,

as

as he was of Hope, but being come to *Burford* in *Oxford-Shire*, he saw *Derby* stand in Battail array, to hinder his advance, which unpleasant and unexpected sight transformed him, who was before grown fierce upon his supposed advantage, into a perfect Coward, and filled his suspicious Breast with a Thousand apprehensions of impending danger: So that it was impossible for *Mollineux*, to infuse new Courage into him, or raise his fallen Spirits. He told him, the Enemies Forces were inferiour to his, and that there were none of the Lords there, to command them, but only the Earl of *Derby*, who was but a Boy, and had no experience in War; but all to no purpose, for he fancied, that he was the only Man they aimed at, and that all their Bows were bent, and all their Lances directed at him, and that the safety of his Men, consisted in his flight, since it was he, and not they, that the Enemy desired to destroy.

However, *Mollineux*, being a Man of an undaunted Courage, gave them Battail, which was no sooner begun, but *Ireland* overpressed by his own fears, mounted a very Fleet Horse and fled, thereby demonstrating, that he had a better stomach to make Quarrels, than he had to maintain

or stint them, by which means his men being disheartned, and *Mullineux* slain, *Derby* obtained the Honour of a cheap, but yet a full and intire Victory, and thereby laid the first foundation of his Succeeding Glories. *Ireland's* flight was opposed by a River, wherefore to make himself the lighter, he threw away his Armor, and his Sword, and took the Water, but his Horse being born down by the stream, he was forced to quit the Saddle, and swim, not without Eminent danger, to the other shoar; and not fancying himself safe in *England*, he first fled to *Scotland*, and then to *Holland*, but not thinking himself safe enough, in regard *Albertus* Duke of *Bavaria*, who was Lord of that Country, was a Friend unto the King of *France*, he went to *France*, and from thence to *Lorraine*, where he soon after dyed. The Victory was rendered the more compleat, by some Letters falling into their hands, which were sent from the *French* King, purporting a safe Conduct for *Richard*, and as many as would accompany him thither, to drive a bargain about those places which the *English* enjoyed there.

This unhappy disaster Thunder strack the whole *Cabal*, whose terror was the

more

more increased, when they were informed the Lords were upon their March towards *London*, with Forty Thousand Men, whereupon they all fled, *Suffolk* into *France*, and the rest where they thought themselves most secure; and the King himself retired to the *Tower of London*, as a place least exposed to dangers. The Lords, being come to *London*, were after some debate, admitted into the Kings Presence, where in justification of what they had done, they laid before him the Confederacy against their Lives at *Nottingham*, his Letters to *Ireland*, contrary to his Royal word, and his dishonourable Treaty with the *French King*, all which he heard with silence, and a dejected Countenance, and when they shewed him the *French Kings* safe Conduct, he burst forth into Tears. The Result of this debate was, the Kings promising to go to *Westminster*, and there to treat of these and other necessary affairs of the *Kingdom*. But no sooner were they departed, than those who knew their Crimes had rendered them Obnoxious, began to abuse the Royal Ear, telling him it was neither Honorable, nor safe for him to leave the *Tower*, and that the going to *Westminster* would bring upon him both

danger and contempt. Which unseasonable suggestions made such impressions upon his easie mind, that he began to retract his word, and refuse to go to *Westminster* according to his promise. But upon the Lords threatning, that if he thus faltered with them, they would take other Measures, he consented to meet them according to agreement, where he yielded, although not without some reluctance, to have several of his Favorites banished the Court, and obliged to appear at the next *Parliament*, and to answer for their Misdemeanours, and others of them to be immediatly taken into Custody, and committed to several Prisons.

After *Candlemas*, the *Parliament* began at *London*, whither the Lords came well attended, that so they might be able to defend themselves, against any attempts of the adverse party. Their first work was to summon *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, the *Chief Justice*, and others who were fled, to surrender themselves, and answer the Treasons wherewith they were Charged, there being Thirty Four Articles of High Treason Exhibited against them, by *Gloster* and the rest of the Lords, but none of them appearing, they were all of them Out-lawed, and their Lands and Goods

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Forfeited, and Seized into the Kings hands; and it was Provided by common consent of *Parliament*, that they should never be Pardoned, or suffered to appear in *England* again. And *Tresilian* the Chief Justice, being discovered by one of his own Servants, at an *Apothecaries House*, near the Gate going into the *Old Palace* at *Westminster*, whither he had retired the better to observe what was done, was by *Glocester* brought to the *Parliament*, who immediately awarded Execution against him, whereupon he was according to a Judgment passed upon him, before he was found, drawn from the *Tower*, through the midst of the *City of London* to *Tyburn*, and there Hang'd; and the next day *Sir Nicholas Brembridg*, who had formerly been preferred by the King, to be *Mayor of London*, contrary to the desires of its Inhabitants, and had thereby brought many damages upon the *City*, was discovered, and Beheaded with a common *Hatchet*, which he had caused to be made for the cutting of the Heads of all that opposed his Illegal practices, a List of whose Names was then found about him, Eight Thousand Five Hundred, and upwards, whereof, he had already Indicted, but was now effectually prevented,

prevented from prosecuting them any farther, or injoying the Title of Duke of Troy, a name (*London* was anciently called by) which Historians say was design'd for him. After which, a general Pardon was passed, and so the *Parliament* broke up.

*May, 1389.* Terminating King Richards Minority, he Commanded the Fourteen Lords, and the rest of the Nobility, to come to Court, and being all met in the Council Chamber, he repaired thither likewise, and taking his Seat, and looking about him on every side (which made them with much expectation long to hear, what he would say,) demanded, *How old they thought he was?* they answered, *Some what more than One and Twenty Years.* Then replied he, *I am of full Age, and Capable to manage the affairs of my Kingdom my self:* whereat he stopt, as expecting their answer. But though the Lords, its probable, were unwilling to grant it, yet they could not deny the truth of what he had asserted, and therefore were silent, and returned no answer thereunto, which the King seeing, proceeded, *For well known* said he, *I have hitherto lived under your Favour, and Governance, and for the Pains you have taken therein, We thank you,*



but now being arrived at Our full Age, We resolve to be no longer in Ward, but to take into Our own hands the Government of our Realm, and the appointing such Officers and Ministers as We shall think fit, and the removing other, at Our Pleasure. And accordingly he immediatly displaced the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, and bestowed their Offices on others, and suspended his Uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and several more from his Privy Council, admitting others in their stead, who Humour'd him more, but Honoured him less; a thing very incident to Princes, although nothing can be more injurious and pernicious to them.

The Duke of Lancaster being now return'd out of Spain, and the King having given him the *Duchy of Gascoyne*, he went into *France*, to take possession of it, and Richard himself, passing over at the same time, into *Ireland* with an Army of Thirty Thousand Bow-Men, and Four Thousand Lances, wan more in Nine Months time than ever his Grand-Father the Famous King Edward the Third, was able to do in his whole Life. *Ireland* was Governed by almost as many petty Kings, as there were Provinces; Four whereof submitted to him, and the rest had

had done so too, if his Prelats had not importuned his return, before he had effected it, to put a stop to the spreading of *Wicklifs Doctrin*. By which it appears, that he not been naturally inclined to listen to odd advice and flattery, which is usually the ruin of Princes, he might have been a more happy and prosperous King. And not long after his return, *Lancaster*, who had been at a great charge to settle himself in *Gascony*, was presently recalled, and though he thought it as hard as it was expected, yet he willingly obeyed it, and soon after *Lancaster's* return, King *Richard* himself, made great preparations for a Voyage into *France*, not of War, but of Gallantry, where between *Calice* and *Arde*, the place appointed for their Interview, the Two Kings met, and it was agreed between them, that there should be a Cessation of Arms, between the two Nations, for Thirty Year, and that *Richard* should Marry *Isabel*, the French Kings Daughter, then not above Eight Years Old. *Glocester* being displeased at this Match, and the Treaty of peace with *France*, he spoke very slightly of them, which coming to the Ear of the Earl of *St. Pauls*, who was soon after sent

sent by the *French King*, to Complement the new *Queen*, he in revenge contributed very much to the hastning of his Ruin, for the King and he discoursing about *Glocester*, and being told by the King, that he had been the only Man who had opposed his Match, and the Peace lately concluded with *France*, and complaining of him as a contumacious Person, the Earl, bending his Brows, replied, the Birth and Blood of such Subjects, allowing them more Authority than stood with the Kings safety, was dangerous, and that to temporise in Cures made Maladies, greater, but as one Poyson expels another, so was one danger to be prevented by another, with this advantage, that the first danger was certain, but the later not so. Adding, Clemency when it was looked upon as the Off-spring of weakness or fear, was alwayes subject to Ingratitude, and was seldom ever thankfully received, so that Princes, who wanted skill to weigh Offences, and Power to Counter-poise them with condign Punishments, might esteem themselves already lost. Which intimations being received by *Richard*, as coming from one whom he accounted Wise, one who was his Friend, and withal had no particular interest

interest to prompt him thereunto, they gave the Definitive Sentence against *Glocesters* Life: His Death being now resolved on, though not the manner, which required more mature Deliberation.

But so soon as the Earl was gone, *Richard*, acquainted the Earls of *Nottingham* & *Huntington*, the former whereof, was Earl Marshal, with his Design, and they rid out of *London* one Evening about supper time, with a great many Armed men, who were placed in Ambush near the Dukes House at *Plashley*, whither the King sent *Huntington* to acquaint him of his Comming, and the message was no sooner delivered, but by the sound of Trumpets notice was given of the Kings arrival, whereupon the Duke, who was then in Bed, threw his Night-Gown about him, and came down to receive him, taxing *Huntington* of unkindness, for giving him no earlier notice; but their Complemental quarrels were soon composed by the Kings smiling aspect who desired the Duke to go and dress him, because some Extraordinary business required his going presently to *London* with him. The Dutcheess in her Night-Cloaths entertained the King, whilst the Duke prepared himself for his Journey, little imagining he should never return

more. As soon as he was ready, without staying to take his usual Train along with him, he gat on horseback followed only by a few, and giving Order for the rest to follow after him, but that was needless, for when they came to the place where the Ambush was laid, Richard set spurs to his Horse, and the Earl *Marshal* appearing from the place where he was hid, took the Duke prisoner, who called to the King but to no purpose, for he rid forward and made as if he did not hear him, so that the unfortunate man notwithstanding all his wariness & caution, was by this stratagem taken and hurried away to the Thames and there hoodwink'd, and against his will shippe for Calice, where he was Kept a close prisoner for some small time, and then was secretly strangled.

*Richard* having had success in this Enterprize, the next day he invited the Earl of *Warwick* to Dinner, and entertain'd him with a pleasant Countenance, but at his return caused him to be apprehended and sent to prison, and sent the Lord *Cobham* and divers more likewise to the Tower, but fearing that these kind of proceedings would have Alarmed the Nation, he caused a Proclamation to be issued forth, wherein he declared, that they were not imprisoned

for

for any former difference, but upon the account of new crimes, which should be made good against the next Parliament, which was to meet at Nottingham, after the Feast of the *Virgin Mariæ Nativity*. Which Parliament was Chosen more according to the Kings mind than any of the former had been. Sir *John Busby* was their Speaker and Sir *William Baggot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, were the greatest sticklers therein, three Gentlemen who were absolutely at *Richards* devotion.

In this Parliament the King, upon the importunity of his Favorites, protested that all his Charters of pardon, which he had formerly granted, were drawn from him against his own inclination, and his consent to them was rather forced than coming freely from his own Choice; and therefore desired, they might be revoked. The Temporal Lords were of the same opinion, but the Judges and Lawyers were utterly against it; notwithstanding which, it was carried according to the Kings desire, and they were all Vacated and Annulled; which being done, and the new crimes, which the Proclamation pretended, they were imprisoned for not being very easy to prove, there was no mention made, but they were Proceeded

ceeded against for former offences. In order wherunto a command was sent to *Calice* to *Earl Marshal* to bring his Prisoner the Duke of *Glocester* to the Parliament, the better to colour the business of his being murdered: Which was done for fear the Dukes innocency, policy and popularity might prevent their getting him condemned, but answer was return'd, that he was dead of a violent fever. All obstacles being now removed, they fall briskly upon the business, only the Prelats, pretending a scrupulosity, that they might not be present at Iudgment of Blood, chose Sir *Henry Peircy* their Procurator and departed the House. *Thomas Arch-Bishop, of Canterbury*, was the first they began withall, who being accused of Executing the Iudgment against the Earl of *Suffolk*; had his Temporalities Seized, his Land and his Goods forfeited, and himself, being adjudged to perpetual Banishment, and was ordered to depart the *Kingdom* within six weeks; he offered to make his defence, but the Speaker desired the King, he might not be permitted to answer, least he should, by his great Wit and Cunning, delude People to believe him. The next they proceeded against, was the Earl of *Arundel*, who  
in



in vain pleaded his Pardon; notwithstanding which, he was Condemned to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quartered, which Sentence was mitigated by the King, into the favor of being Beheaded. When he saw the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Kent* ( the first being his Son-in-law, and the Second his Nephew ) to be very busie at his Execution, he told them, it would have become them at least to have been absent, but the time would shortly come, when as many should be Spectators of their Misfortune, as then beheld his. The Earl of *Warwick* was Banished, and so was the Lord *Cobham*, although accused of no other Crime, than his being one of the aforementioned Commissioners appointed by the *Parliament*.

All things being now finished according to the Kings pleasure, he Adjourned the *Parliament* to *Shrewsbury*, where he Ordered them to meet after *Christmas*, where the *Parliament* being now met again, and grown more pliable than ever, upon the account of the late pretended Conspiracy, they Condemned and Annulled all the proceedings of the *Parliament*, which sate in the Tenth Year of *Richards* Reign. And so melted were they into an excess of Kindness, that upon his desire they

they granted, that after their Dissolution, their whole Power should revolve upon, and remain in certain Persons then named, or any Seven or Eight of them. Who did thereupon undertake to Act, and Determin many things concerning the Publick State of the *Nation*, which were only proper for a *Parliament* to have done; General Pardon was likewise Granted, but was clog'd with a strange kind of Clause: which exempted Fifty Persons from the Benefit of it, whose Names were not expressed, but left to the Kings own Knowledge and Pleasure, that so if any of the Nobility should in any thing displease him, he might presently Nominate them to be of the Number, by which Reservation he kept them still within his danger, no Man being able to assure himself that he was included in it.

And the better to fix himself in the Affections of his Friends, and oblige them to be firm and constant, and with all to Illustrate his Triumphs over his supposed Enemies, he Liberally bestowed new Honours and Estates upon divers Persons, creating Five new Dukes, one whereof was the Earl of Derby, whom he made Duke of ~~Hereford~~, and another  
was

was Nottingham, who was preferred per-  
 adventure, in consideration of his good  
 Service in ridding the King of his Uncle,  
 the Duke of Gloucester, to be Duke of Nor-  
 folk. He likewise created one Dutchesse,  
 one Marquess, and four Earls, among  
 whom he made distribution of the Estates  
 of Gloucester, Arundal, and Warwick;  
 imagining, that by his double Bounty, in  
 conferring Honour upon them, and giving  
 them Estates to uphold it, he had tyed  
 them securely enough to his Interest,  
 not considering, that hired and merce-  
 nary Friends are never satisfied, or Faith-  
 ful longer than they are receiving con-  
 tinual Favours. However to bind all  
 sure, and make the proceedings of this  
*Parliament* the more Solid and Durable,  
 he Purchased the Popes Bull, containing  
 heavy Censures and Curses, upon all Per-  
 sons whatsoever, which should presume  
 to Oppose or Break them: Which were  
 solemnly Published at *Pauls Cross*, and at  
 several other places in the Nation, so that  
 he now thought he might do what he  
 pleased, without fear of Danger, altho  
 he were just then entering upon the very  
 Confines of his Destiny. And to shew  
 that there is an over-ruling Providence,  
 that can easily blast the most subtle and  
 well

well laid projects, when they are not founded on Equity, and managed with Justice; and that too by the most unlikely and unthought of means, he was soon after forced, without striking one stroke, to surrender his Crown, and acknowledg himself unfit, and unworthy to wear it.

One thing which seems to have hastned *Richards* approaching destiny, was *Herefords* complaining to the new made Duke of *Norfolk*, whom he knew was one of *Richards* greatest Confidants. That those actions of the King would certainly draw upon him many inconveniences, by exposing him to the suspicion and hatred of his People, and telling him, that he, being a Counsellor, and one whom the King did much confide in, was bound in duty to acquaint him, that by undervaluing the Princes of the Blood, and the Ancient Nobility, and preferring others before them, who were new upstart Favourites, of mean Birth and baser Qualities, who had no sufficiency either for Counsel in Peace, or Courage in War, and whose hated conditions had deservedly contracted the odium and contempt of the whole *Kingdom* before them. He obscured his own Honour, and indangered the safety of the Nation, and that it

was

was therefore high time to provide some Redress therein, protesting that he mentioned this not out of any Pique to any Person whatsoever, but only out of a sense of Duty to his Sovereign, and Love to his Country; *Norfolk* told him he was of the same mind, assuring him that in those apprehensions he had but copied his own thoughts, and that he would acquaint the King therewith, and use his interest to have it regulated, which if he had performed with as much Candidness, and Ingenuity as it seems to have been delivered by *Hereford*, many insuing mischiefs might have been prevented. But either out of some private grudge to *Hereford*, and a design to work his ruin, or else from the consideration that such offices were displeasing to the King, whose Favour was not to be obtained or preserved by giving him good advice, but by flattering him into a conceit that he had done all things well. He reported the discourse to the King, very different to what it was, and aggravated it as much as might be to *Hereford's* prejudice: whereupon the King sent for him, and made *Norfolk* relate the same before his Face, as he had done behind his Back; upon which *Hereford* gave him the Lye,

which

which was returned again by *Norfolk*; whereupon *Hereford* Challenged him to the Combat, which the other accepted, and the King allowed of, assigning *Conventry* to be Place, and the following *August* for the time of Decision. And the time being come, the Duke of *Albemarle* was made High Constable, and the Duke of *Sturrey*, High Marshal for that days Solemnity; who entred the Lifts, Honourably attended with rich Liveries, suitable to their greatness, their Servants carryng Tiptaves for the clearing the Field.

*Hereford*, being Challenger, was the first that entered the Field, bravely mounted, and Armed *Cap-a-pe*, with his Sword drawn. When he came to enter the Lifts, the Marshal demanded who he was, he answered, I am *Henry* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford*, and am come hither to do my Devoir, against *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, as a false Trayter to God, the King, the *Realm*, and me, and then taking his Oath that his cause was True, and Just, he desired leave to enter the List, which being granted, he put up his Sword, pulled down his Beaver, and Signed himself with the Sign of the Cross, and then taking his Spear, and passing



passing the Barriers, he dismounted and sat down in a Chair of Blew Velvet, placed in a Travers of Green and Blew Silk at the end of the Lists. Then the King entred the Field with much Pomp, being accompanied by the Earl of *St. Pauls*, who came over on purpose to see the Combat, and attended by most of the Nobles of *England*, and a Guard of Ten Thousand Men in Arms. And so soon as he was Seated on a Chair of State, which was placed on a Sumptuous Scaffold, built for that purpose: Proclamation was made by one of the Kings at Arms, *That none, unless such as were appointed to Marshal the Field, should touch any part of the Lists, upon pain of Death*; which was followed by another, who cried, *Behold here, Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, Appellant, who is entred into the Royal Lists, to do his Devoier against Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, upon pain of being counted False and Recreant.*

Immediately upon this, *Norfolk* appeared well Mounted, and having taken the like Oath,\* as *Hereford* had done, that his Cause was Right and Just, he entered the Field, crying aloud, *God aid the Right*; and then lighting from his Horse, he placed himself in a Chair of Crimson Velvet,



Velvet, opposite to *Hereford*, at the other  
end of the Lists; then the Marshal view-  
ing their Spears, to see that they were of  
an equal length; he carried one of them  
to *Hereford* himself, and sent the other to  
*Norfolk* by a Knight, which being done  
they Mounted, and Addressed themselves  
to the Combat, and upon the Trumpets  
sounding *Hereford* advanced, but before  
*Norfolk* stirred, the King Commanided them  
to stay and their Spears being taken away  
from them, they returned to their Seats,  
whilst he retired to Council, to debate  
what was to be done in that case, and af-  
ter two hours debate their Doom was con-  
cluded on, without fighting; and Sir *John*  
*Bouray*, after silence Commanided, read  
their Sentence, which was to this effect,  
that, *For as much as the two Dukes had Honour-*  
*ably Appeared, and Declared themselves rea-*  
*dy and forward to decide the Controversie, be-*  
*tween them, by Combat; the King, for avoid-*  
*ing the shedding of Christian Blood, had, by*  
*the advice of his Council, Decreed, That Here-*  
*ford should within Fifteen Days depart the*  
*Kingdom, nor to return within the space of*  
*Ten Years, upon pain of Death, without the*  
*Kings Special Licence. And that Norfolk*  
*for having uttered Seditious words, whereof*  
*he could produce no proof, should be Banished*  
*during*

during Life, and that the King should receive the Revenues of his Land, till he was satisfied all such Sums of Money as the Duke had taken out of the Kings Coffers, on pretence of paying the Garrison of Calice. And that no person from thenceforth should presume to Petition or Intercede on the behalf of either of them, on pain of the Kings displeasure. The Sentence being read, the King took an Oath, that they should never converse together beyond the Seas; Nor, willingly come into each others Company.

Norfolk, with much grief and trouble of mind, went first into Germany, and then to Venice, where in a short time he died with Sorrow. It being observed by Historians, that his Banishment was pronounced that very day Twelve Month, that the Duke of Gloucester had been by his Order Murthered at Calice, so Just is Heaven in Revenging Crimes of that nature.

Hereford, when he took his leave of the King, behaved himself so respectfully towards him, that he remitted Four Years of his Exilement. Which did not however pacify the Murmur of the People, who could not be persuaded that there was any cause for his being Banished at all; affirming, that it was against the Law of Arms, the Custom of the Realm, and the Rules

Rules of Justice, that he, who had so Honourably offered to maintain his Appeal, according to the Law of the Field, should be Exil'd. He directed his course from *England* to *France*, where he was Honourably received by the *French King*, who offered him the only Daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, who was the Kings Uncle, in Marriage, but *Richard* put a stop thereunto.

He had not been gon many Months, before his Father, the Duke of *Lancaster*, died, his Death being perhaps somewhat hastened by the Impressions of grief, which the disgrace of his Son made on his Spirits. By whose death, the Dutchy of *Lancaster* lineally descended to *Hereford*, but there being nothing more usual, than for Princes of his temper, to hate those whom they have once injured; the King presently seized on all his Lands and Goods, and incavoured to perpetuate the Young Dukes Banishment, without any pretended Crime committed by the Father, or new Provocation given by the Son, which might afford any colourable pretence, for his being disinherited. In the mean while, *Richards* superfluous expences rendred him continually Poor, and in a perpetual want of Money, which

ran through his hands, as Water thorough a Sieve; and his Necessity, like a perpetual Feavour, caused an excessive thirst, which could not possibly be quenched by the ordinary Revenues of the Crown, nor yet the extraordinary helps of *Parliament*, so that he was forced to digg for new Springs, and find out new Methods to supply his craving Poverty. He borrowed Money of all his Prelats, and Temporal Lords, by way of Privy Seal, which was never repayed again. And accusing Seventeen whole Shires of having formerly sided with the Duke of *Glocester*, they were all of them, notwithstanding his late General Pardon, looked upon as Guilty of High Treason, and thereupon compelled to compound for a great Sum of Money, and the Richest amongst them forced to Sign and Seal unto a Blanck, into which his Officers might insert what Sum they pleased; a thing able to undo whole Families, nay Counties at once, the like was practised in *London* likewise, to the great distast of the *Citizens*.

The Duke of *York*, disliking those Illegal practises, especially the seizing his deceased Brother, the Duke of *Lancasters* Inheritance, to the prejudice of his Nephew the young Duke, and thinking it no longer

longer safe for him to stay at Court, he retired to his own House; but *Richard* resolving to go in Person for *Ireland*, to revenge the Death of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who had been formerly by the *Parliament* declared Heir to the Crown, in case the King should die without Issue, and was now slain there by the Rebels, he sent for the Duke back to Govern the *Kingdom* in his absence: During which, the Prelats, Nobles, and the Generality of the Commons, especially the Seventeen Counties, who thought themselves the worst dealt with, reflecting upon *Lancasters* being in the same condition with themselves, resolved to call him, not only to the Possession of his own Inheritance, but the Crown too; to which end they sent expresse messengers to *Cullen*, to desire *Thomas Arundel* late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who in the time of his Banishment resided there, to repaire forthwith to *France*, and persuade the Duke of *Lancaster* to comply with their desires. These offers, without doubt, were not unwelcome to the Duke, who looking upon himself to have been very severely dealt withall, in his first Banishment, but more especially the late seizure of his Inheritance, whereof he was very much intraged.

Notwithstanding which, he was not without very great importunity brought to consent, nor had he at all been prevailed upon, as many did beleive, had he not been reduced to such poverty, by being deprived of his Estate, that he was forced to live by borrowing Money, and out of hopes of ever recovering his Estate, by any other means. The thoughts whereof sometimes hurries men on to the doing of the most injurious, and unwarrantable Actions.

*Lancaster*, having at last consented to return for *England*, he pretended to King *Charles*, who would not otherwise have suffered him to depart, that he was going to see his Cousin, the Duke of *Brittain*, desiring his Letters of safe conduct, which being granted, he there privately listed a few Soldiers, with which, in three Ships he hired of the Duke, he put to *Sea*, and set Sail for *England*, he had not above Twenty Lances, and about Sixty Persons more in his Retinue, so that it is an equal wonder that he dared Attempt, and that he Succeeded in the Conquest of a *Kingdom*, with so inconsiderable an Army; when he arrived on the *English* Coast, he did not presently Land, but lay Cruising up and down, sometimes appearing on one Coast,

Coast, and sometimes on another, thereby the better to discover how Peoples Inclinations stood, and to inform himself what Forces were ready to Joyn with him, and being satisfied that all things were according to his desire, he landed about the beginning of *June*, at *Ravensthorpe* in *Yorkshire*, whither divers Prelats and Noble Men presently repaired to him, and in a few days he had an Army of Fifty Thousand Fighting men, and all places by which he passed yeelding to him, he was received with great acclamations of Joy into *London*.

As soon as Intelligence of his arrival was brought to *London*, the Duke of *Tork*, who was then made Governour of the Kingdom, during the Kings absence, Levied what Forces could be got together upon so suddain an occasion, which were ordered to Rendezvous at *St. Albans*. But when they were got together, many of them declared, that they would not fight against the Duke of *Lancaster*, in regard he pretended that he designed no more, than only the obtaining his own Inheritance, which was unjustly detained from him. Which refusal of the Soldiers being looked upon as a very ill omen to the Kings Cause, the Earl of *Wiltshire*,



Sir *John Bushey*, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, forsook the Duke of *Tork*, and fled to *Bristow*, intending to have gon into *Ireland* to the King. The Duke seeing their flight, and the general esteem which *Lancaster* had obtained, and being unwilling to run the hazard of a doubtful Resistance, gave over the Cause, and the rest of the Council either openly declared for *Lancaster*, or secretly held correspondence with him, resolving to swim with the stream, and not endanger themselves, by endeavouring to stem the impetuous Torrent, which bore down all before it.

By that time he came to *London*, he had increased his Army to Sixty Thousand, however he thought it not convenient to stay there, but supposing the only danger, which could happen to him, would be from *Richards* return out of *Ireland*; to prevent that, and overtake those who were fled, he with speedy Marches pursued them to *Bristow*, where he found the Castle Fortified against him, which he Stormed so briskly, that in Four days he forced it to a surrender, and therein took the Earl of *Wiltshire*, the Treasurer, Sir *John Bushey*, and Sir *Henry Green*, whom he the very next

next day Sacrificed to the importunate rage of the incensed People, by causing them to be Beheaded.

It was Six Weeks, or more, after *Lan-  
sters* first Landing, before there was any News of *Richards* preparation to oppose him, either in regard that the Wind was so contrary, that he could not have news of it sooner, as some Historians write, or else, because he slighted it upon the first Intelligence, according to the Humour of some mean Spirits, who laugh at dangers when remote, but are confounded by them when they approach too near them. However upon certain news, how hazardous his affairs stood, he caused the Sons of the Duke of *Glocester*, and *Lancaster*, who were then with him, to be imprisoned in *Trim Castle*, and prepared for his departure forthwith to *England*; but the Duke of *Aumarl*, who was his principal Counsellor, advised him to stay till his Ships, which were then scattered, could be gotten together, and other necessary preparations made for the Fleet; which fatal Counsel it was *Richards* ill fortune to follow, yet he presently sent over the Earl of *Salisbury* to raise Men in *Wales*, and *Cheshire*, promising within Six Days at furthest to follow himself. The Earl,

employed himself so well, that he soon got together Forty Thousand Men, where- with *Richard*, if he had followed according to his promise, might, together with what Forces he had with him, have put such a stop to the progress of *Lancasters* Arms, that he would not have been able, at least so soon, to have rent his *Kingdom* from him. But having expected him fifteen days, and hearing no news of him in all that time, and there being a report raised, that he was dead, the Earl was able to keep them no longer, but they broke up in discontent, some of them going over to *Lancaster*, and the rest retiring to their own homes.

Three days after which, and eighteen days after his sending away the Earl, he Landed at *Milford Haven*, and when he understood the irreparable mischief his delay had brought upon him, he lost all Courage, and abandoned himself to despaire, being perplext in uncertainties what to do, or whither to repair for safety. Some advised him to march further into the Country, before those Forces he had were likewise lost; telling him, that Fortune would attend Valour, and that he would in all places find some, who either out of a sense of Loyalty and Affection,

Affection, or else for good Pay, would follow his Standard, which was Illustrated with Majesty, and Guarded with Right. Some perswaded him to return to *Ireland*, and others to go over to his Father in Law, the King of *France*, till the heat of the People was a little over, and he were better fortified against the impending danger. But, being not well acquainted with Martial Affairs, he rejected all those Counsels, and steered a middle course, which usually, in extreams of that Nature, are the worst, and prove most Fatal. He resolved to stay in *Wales*, to see to what Issue that revolution would tend, which resolution was contrary almost to all their opinions, who were with him. His Soldiers encouraged him to venture a Battel, vowing they would die at his Feet, rather than suffer his Crown to be Usurped by *Lancaster*: all which could not raise his drooping Spirits, but contrary to that Magnanimity, and greatness of Spirit, which ought to fill the Souls of Princes, he resolved to lose his *Kingdom*, rather than hazard his Life in the defence of it, stealing away from his Army in the Night, with the Dukes of *Exeter*, and *Surry*, and about Twelve or Fourteen more, with whom, he retired to a Castle at *Conway*,  
whither

whither *Lancaster*, so soon as he heard of it, followed him, whilst his Army, discouraged by his departure, dispersed themselves, every one striving to save one.

Whereupon finding himself straitned, so that he was unable either to resist or escape, he desired a conference with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, two persons from whose Negotiations he could hope for little advantage, having formerly Banished the first, and Beheaded his Brother the Earl of *Arundel*, and Proclaimed the Second a Traytor. However they were sent to him according to his desire, and told him, that if he would grant that a *Parliament* should be called, and in the same Justice done, and *Lancaster* and his Followers receive a General Pardon, the Duke would be ready to cast himself at his Feet, and as an Humble Subject obey him, in all Dutiful Service. But the King, knowing that all this was but Complement, and that *Lancaster* aimed at the Crown, and that he would not therefore, after having rendered himself so obnoxious to his displeasure, confide in his promises of Pardon; or to oblige them the more by an early and voluntary offer to surrender that, which he saw he could keep no longer, or else  
 confounded

confounded in himself, and grown weary of wearing a Crown, he was not able to support, told them, that he desired no more, than that himself, and eight others, whom he would name, might have an Honourable allowance, and an assurance of a quiet private Life, and then he would willingly resign the Crown, which was readily granted; and the King, desiring to speak with the Duke, he, in order thereunto, removed from thence to *Flint-Castle*: Whither *Lancaster* being come with his Army, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Worcester*, who had been Steward of his Household, were sent before to acquaint him of the Dukes coming; so soon as he saw them from the Walls, where he stood, he came down to meet them, and observing that they did their accustomed reverence, took them up, and entred into some private discourse with the Arch-Bishop.

After a little space, *Lancaster* himself in his Armour approached the Castle; and entering within the first Gate, he reposed himself, till the King, attended by the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Earl of *Salisbury* and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth and sat down in a place prepared for him, which as soon

as the Duke saw, he went towards him, bowing his knee three times, and then the King taking him by the hand, lifted him up, saying, *Dear Cousin, thou art welcom?* to which the Duke returned his Humble thanks, and told him, *That the cause of his coming was to have restitution of his Person, Lands, and Inheritance;* to which the King replied, *Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your Will, so that you may Injoy what is yours, without exception.* After which, coming forth of the Castle, the King called for some Wine, and having drank together, they mounted and rid to Chester, and afterwards to London, where, in presence of State, but really for the better securing of him, he was Lodged in the Tower; which being done, a Parliament was called by the Duke but in the Kings name. Against the time of their Sitting, he consulted with his Friends, how to manage things so, that his affairs, which had hitherto succeeded, even beyond his hopes, might have as desirable and advantageous an Issue. And the Duke of York, who had been but a little before Governour of the Kingdom under Richard, being now become Lancasters Chief Dictator, and his most admired Oracle, after several debates proposed it as the best Expedient,



Expedient, that *Richards* Voluntary Resignation should be accepted, and that he should likewise be solemnly Deposed, by the Estates of the *Realm*, that so the Resignation might not be imputed only to his fear, nor the Deprivation seem to be procured barely by *Lancasters* Force, affirming that they should thereby render the King so much less the subject of the Peoples Pity, and the Duke of their Envy.

His advice being approved of, it was accordingly followed, and a Solemn Renunciation being tendred to the King, he Signed it, desiring the Arch-Bishop, in his Name, to desire the *Parliament*, to Chuse his Cousin, the Duke of *Lancaster*, for his Successor; to whom he presented a Ring, which he took off of his own Finger, and wherein his Arms were curiously Ingraven. All which was the next day reported to the *Parliament*, at their first opening by the Arch-Bishop, where it was Ratified, and Confirmed, and in the conclusion, *Lancaster* was Crowned in his stead, by the name of *Henry* the Fourth, altho' the Earl of *March*, who had formerly been declared Heir of the Crown, was then Living.

*Henry*, having thus ascended *Richards* Throne,

Throne, used all imaginable care to retain the hearts of those, who had appeared for his interest, and win over or at least weaken those who had opposed him, and withal sent Embassadors to the Neighboring Princes, to justifie his unjust proceedings. But the *French King*, nor yet the People of *Aquitain*, who were then Subject to the *English Crown*, would not allow of his pretence, and the *Citizens* of *Burdeaux* openly declared, that, since the World began, there never was so base, unreasonable, and wicked a thing done: affirming, that the good King was betrayed by faithless Men, and that all Law and Justice was thereby Violated. Nor were there wanting those in *England*, who still favoured the declining cause of the Deposed King, and secretly indeavored to advance him to his Throne again; which, being discovered, proved the occasion of his Death, and their own Ruin.

The first and main Contriver, and Manager, of this Conspiracy, was the Abbot of *Westminster*, moved thereunto as well by his fears, that *Henry* would prove no very great friend to the Clergy, as his love to *Richard*; and therefore concluding, that *Henry's* preferment was occasioned, rather out of hatred to *Richards* ill Government, than

than from any love to himself, and that therefore the one being Deposed, the other was not now so much desired, in regard he was only coveted to exclude the former, which being effected, and the People, who are naturally fickle, being usually greedy of what they desire, and soon weary of, and cloyed with, what they enjoy: He imagined that it would be a matter of no extraordinary difficulty, to destroy him, and inthrone *Richard* again: And looking upon the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Surry*, and *Aumarl*, the Earls of *Huntingdon*, *Kent*, *Salisbury*, and *Glocester*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*, to be fit persons to be drawn into the Conspiracy, he therefore invited them, and as many more as he thought convenient, to a great Feast, at which he began to bewail the deplorable Miseries of the times, the unjust Imprisonment of a King, to whom by Nature, their oaths of Allegiance, and many particular Favours they were obliged, together with their own loss in his fall, and finding that this Discourse had its desired effect, and that he had thereby prepared them for what he had further to impart to them, he proceeded, and told them, that he was resolved to endeavor the Re-Establishing *Richard*, by the Death of  
*Henry,*

Henry, if they would but joyn with him, in the effecting of it : Affirming, that it would be a thing easie enough to effect, and that he was certain, the People would be well enough content therewith; since their heat was now over, and most of those Persons removed, whom they were most offended at, and in regard they should by that means free themselves from the fear of those Wars they were threatned with from *France*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*. The Abbot having represented the thing so easie to be done, they Unanimously promised their assistance, and fell to debating what method they should take for the effecting of it. The Duke of *Exeter* was for appoynting a Tilting at *Christmas* following, wherein himself with Twenty Gentlemen more would Challenge the Earl of *Salisbury*, with a like number, to which Tilting the King was to be invited, where he and all his Children were to have been slain. A business easie enough to have been brought to pass, had it not been discovered, in regard the King, being void of suspicion, would have gon altogether unprovided to defend himself against their attempt, his ordinary Guards serving rather for Show than Service, and they, under pretence of Pomp,

Pomp, being attended with great numbers of Armed Men.

The Project being liked by the whole company, they resolved to follow it, and every one having vowed to be Faithful and True to the Design, Six of the Principal men among them caused the form of their agreement to be drawn up in a Writing, to which they all Subscribed and Sealed, each of those Six Persons keeping a Copie thereof, which afterwards brought the whole Conspiracy to light, by the miscarrying of one of those Copies. *Exeter* acquaints *Henry* with the Tilting, which was appointed between him and *Salisbury*, importuning him to afford them the Honour of his presence, and be their Judge, if any difference should rise; *Henry*, suspecting no Treachery, in so plausible a pretence, accepted the invitation, and promised to be there. Whereupon, every man providing himself with what number of men they could get together, under the pretence of Magnificence, they repaired forthwith to *Oxford*, the place where the Tilting was appointed to have been; expecting the King, and whole Court, would be there the next day. The only Person who was wanting was the Duke of *Summer*, who having sent his Men before, went

went himself to visit his Father, the Duke of *York*, who lived then at a Country-house of his in the way thither. And being importuned by his Father, to stay dinner, it fortun'd, that, as they sat at Table, the old Man perceived part of the subscribed Paper to hang out of his Son's Bosom, where he had put it for the greater security; and wondring what it might be, suddenly snatch'd it away, and having view'd the Contents of it, and the six Seals, whereof one he knew to be his Sons, he was so enraged thereat, that, rising immediately from Table, he commanded his Horse to be made ready, and having first reproach'd his Son for having been first false to *Richard*, and then turning Traitor to *Henry*, telling him he was witty in finding out Inventions to ruin his Father, but to prevent it, he would now undo him. And that he should remember, how the last Parliament he had been bound for him Body for Body, and Goods for Goods: And assured him, that since he had hitherto made so little an account of his Father's Head, he would now make as small account of his. Which being said, he immediately mounted, and rid Post towards *Windſor*, where the King then was.

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*Anmarl* seeing it was impossible to draw his Father from his resolution of discovering the Plot to the King, and that he was gon towards *Windsor* in order thereunto, and considering, that the thing being discovered, it was unlikely to bring it to pass; but on the contrary, his Life was now in danger, he resolved to prevent his Father, and therefore mounted likewise, and rid so fast, that he got to *Windsor* before him; and as soon as he entred the Castle, he clapt to the doors after him, telling those who stood by, that his so doing was for the King's Service. As soon as he came where the King was, he presently threw himself down at his Feet, imploring his Pardon: who being astonished at the strangeness and unexpectedness of the Novelty, demanded what was his Offence? which when he understood, and heard him relate the whole story of the Conspiracy, he was still the more amazed; but however promised him Mercy, if the thing proved as he had related: but if otherwise, he threatned him with inevitable ruin. In the mean time came the Duke of *York* to the door, and finding it shut, he required it to be opened; which being done, he went forthwith to the King, and without any previous Circumstances,



stances, he put the Conspirators Contract into the King's hands: who finding thereby, that his Death was really contrived, as *Aumarl* had discovered, he therefore put off his Journey to *Oxford*, and resolved to stay at *Windsor*, there to attend the Conspirators new Resolutions. He immediately, by special Messengers, sent word of it to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*; the first being Lord High-Constable, and the second Lord Marshal of *England*; and to all his other Friends, whom he knew to be faithful and true to his Interest, to the end that they might immediately repair to the Court, and bring with them what Forces they could get together.

The Duke of *Exeter*, notwithstanding he had married *Henry's* Sister, was more set upon the King's ruin than any of the rest, wherefore he made greater provision of Men and Arms than any other, inso-much that it was taken notice of by his Lady, who plainly told him, that those extraordinary Preparations were designed for something more than their pretended Tilting, and that she feared they were designed to Kill the King, her Brother, than which nothing in the World could more trouble or distract her mind,  
since

Since thereby one of the two persons, whom she loved above all others in the World, must inevitably perish. He indeavored to comfort her, telling her, that she had no reason to take it so much to heart, since by being the Wife of the one, and the Sister of the other, she was thereby secured of sharing in either of their good Fortunes, and against being involved in the Miseries of either of their Ruins, and thereupon giving her his last Kiss, he left her weeping, and went to Oxford.

Where when they were all arrived, and found *Aumarl* wanting, and no Preparations made for the King, nor so much as any News of it, they concluded their Plot was discovered, and therefore since they could have but small hopes of a Pardon, many of them having been condemned, and pardoned before, they resolved in so desperate a Case, to take desperate Resolutions, and attempt that by Force, which they had failed of by Treachery. And the better to colour the business, they cloathed *Magdalen* (who had formerly been King *Richard's* Chaplain, and did very much resemble him) in Royal Robes, reporting that being assisted by his Keepers, he had made his escape

escape out of Prison. By which Artifice they deceived the ignorant, and amassed together about Forty Thousand Men, wherewith they intended to surprize the King at *Windsor*; but he, hearing of their coming, withdrew himself to *London*, whither they intended to pursue him, and take him unprovided. But *Henry*, hearing of their approach, went forth to meet them with Twenty Thousand Soldiers, being not at all disheartned at the small Number of his own Men, nor affrighted at the Multitude of the Enemy. But they on the contrary, notwithstanding their Numbers, were so distrustful of themselves, that they shunned the Encounter, and returned towards *Reading*, where the Queen was; to whom they affirmed, that *Richard* was at *Pomfret* in *Yorkshire*, with an Army of One Hundred Thousand Men, and that *Henry* of *Lancaster*, with his Children and Friends, had shut himself up in the Tower of *London*, not daring to come forth; and the better to perswade the Queen into a belief of it, they took *Henry's* Cognizances from those of the Queens Servants, who wore them, as if *Richard* had already been repossessed of his Crown. So that now they made no further use of *Magda-*  
*lin's*

*John's* Pageantry, for fear of a discovery. When they went from *Reading*, they went to *Cicester*, a small Village, near which place *Surry* and *Salisbury* took up their Lodgings, and *Exeter* and *Glocester* theirs in another, leaving their Army in the field. Whereupon the Townsmen, who were now informed that things were not as they had reported them to be, got together about Midnight, and beset the House wherein the two former were lodged, and indeavoured to seize them; but they with great Courage defended themselves, near fifteen Hours; in all which time *Exeter*, who was advertised of their danger, was not able to relieve them, by reason his Men were all fled. For a certain Priest in the Town, where *Surry* was beset, fired several Houses, in hope thereby to withdraw them from their Assault; which was so far from succeeding, that the Countrymen, being but the more enraged thereat, resolved to revenge the Injury by quenching the Fire with the Blood of those who fought against them. And *Exeter's* Men seeing the Town on fire, concluded that *Henry* was come, and that it was he who had given Battel and fired the Town; which possessed them with such a sudden panick fear, that they

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presently betook themselves to their heels, accounting him the happiest man who could run fastest. So that *Surry* and *Salisbury* being for want of Succour at last forced to yield, they were (altho' so mortally wounded, that they could not have lived long) presently beheaded, and their Heads sent up to *London*. And twenty nine Persons of Quality, who were taken with them, were sent to *Oxford*, whither the King was then come, where they were publickly executed. *Glocester*, endeavouring to escape, was taken in *Wales*, and sent to *Bristol*, where he was beheaded. *Exeter*, who indeavoured several times to have got over into *France*, but was still beaten back by contrary Winds, was forc'd to wander up and down unknown; but notwithstanding his disguise, he was at last taken, as he sat at Supper, and carried into the Duke of *Glocester's* Lands, whose Death he had had some hand in, and there beheaded. Besides those mentioned, there were great numbers executed upon the account of this Conspiracy, and the Highways filled with Men hanged and quartered, and with Heads set upon Poles.

As for *Magdalun*, he fled into *Scotland*, but was afterwards taken and sent to *London*, where he was hang'd, drawn and quar-

quartered. And the Abbot of *Westminster*, when he understood what miserable Effects his Counsel had caused, fled from the Monastery, and soon after died suddenly of an Apoplectick Fit, whereby he escaped the Halter; and so did the Bishop of *Carlisle*, who died of a violent Feaver, as some write; or was again pardoned by *Henry*, as others affirm. And thus this great Conspiracy came to nothing, but proved more fatal to *Richard*, whom it was designed to serve, than to *Henry*, who was to have been destroyed thereby; he being soon after this murdered in *Pomfret-Castle*; the manner whereof is diversly reported by Historians.

The *French King* had made great Preparations to second this Conspiracy, and the Forces, which he had raised, were just ready to take Shipping, being commanded by the Earl of *St. Pauls*, (who was a great friend of *Richard's*) when the News of their defeat arrived there; whereupon they were all disbanded. *Charles*, upon good advice, demanding only the restitution of his Daughter; which being a request that could not, without manifest injustice, be denied, it was granted, only *Henry* desired she might still remain in *England*, in regard her Birth and Years

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rendred her a fit Match for his Son *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*. But *Charles*, supposing that those different Pretences to the Crown would render an Alliance with *England* unfortunate, refused it; however, the Peace which *Richard* had formerly made, was by consent of both parties continued.

But *Wales* and *Scotland* were not so easily pacified. The first, who ever had a profound respect for *Richard*, were extreemly vexed at his Deposing, and much more incensed at his Death, and therefore they resolved to revenge both, by rebelling against the new King, before he was well established. To which end they made choice of *Owen Glendor* for their Prince and Leader: He was descended from the youngest Son of Baron *Bromfield*, and had some small Possessions in *Wales*, which lay near adjoyning to the Lord *Kuthens*, between whom and *Owen* there arising a dispute, about the extent of their Possessions, they both betook themselves to Arms, resolving to decide the Quarrel by the dint of Sword; wherein *Owen* was attended with such success, that having burned the Houses, spoiled the Villages, and slain most of the Servants of the unfortunate Lord, he met with Himself in  
fight,



fight, and took him Prisoner. By which prosperous Success, and his new Promotion, being now grown bold, he ran like Lightning through the neighbouring Frontier Towns with Fire and Sword. But his new Condition requiring new Supports, he proposed to the imprisoned Baron, either to Marry his Daughter, or else never enjoy Liberty: The Baron, grown weary of his Captivity, consented to Marry her, that so he might procure his enlargement; but nothing being more usual with Tyrants, than breach of Faith, he was forced notwithstanding to remain a Prisoner, till freed by death. Henry not stirring all this while to chastise him for those Outrages, having his hands full elsewhere, he grew the more insolent, and advanced into *Hereford-shire*, in which County *Edmond Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, lived a kind of an obscure, private Life, that so by living at distance from the Court, without any splendor, he might avoid those dangers, which the present circumstances of things might render him liable to, as being, now *Richard* was dead, the true and rightful Heir of the Crown. Owen exercising his accustomed Cruelties there, as he had done in other places, so awakened the County, that assembling

together, they resolved, under the Conduct of the Earl of *March*, to give him Battel; both sides fought manfully, but *Owen's* Army being more numerous and better disciplined, he carried the Victory, after his having slain two thousand Men, and took the Earl Prisoner, whom he kept, without any respect to the greatness of his Birth, in a noisom place, at the bottom of a Tower; from which miserable Captivity, *Henry* was importuned by divers to indeavour his deliverance; but he wholly neglected it, accounting his Imprisonment one of the happiest things that could have befallen him.

At the same time *Scotland*, supposing they had an advantage by *Henry's* being thus imbroiled at home, denounced War against him likewise, upon pretence of his sheltering *George Dunbar*, Earl of the *Marches*, who had, upon some difference between that King and him, fled into *England* with his whole Family. Whereupon *Henry* resolving that since they would have War, he would make *Scotland* the Seat of it, and so save them the trouble of coming into *England* to meet with it, he suddenly invaded them with Fire and Sword, sparing no places, except those which were Holy, and those which had  
for-

formerly entertain'd his Father, when he retired thither, but, the Winter drawing on, he was forced to return. Whereupon the *Scots* made two Incurſions into the Countries adjoyning to *Scotland*, wherein they met with little or no oppoſition, which encouraged them to return a third time; but having then entred *Northumberland*, and very much enrich'd themſelves by Spoil and Priſoners, they were in their return ſet upon by the Earl of that County, and moſt of them ſlain, together with *Patrick Heborne* their Leader. To revenge which, Earl *Douglafs*, accompanied with moſt of the Nobles of *Scotland*, and followed with a great Army, invaded *England* with flying Colours, and finding no Forces conſiderable enough to reſiſt his Outrage, they loaded themſelves with the Spoils of the Country; but being got as far back as *Hamilton*, when he leaſt thought of any ſuch thing, the Lord *Percy*, who was, for his valour and fierceneſs, called *Hotſpur*, having with him *Dumbar*, the inveterate Enemy of the *Douglafſes*, moſt of the Gentry of *Northumberland*, and about eight thouſand Horſe and Foot, iſſued out of a Valley, and ſet upon him with incredible fierceneſs, both ſides being big with Fame and deſire of Victory: the Conflict

was long and bloody, till at last Fortune, listing her self under St. *George's* Banner, thought it no Sacrilege, to trample down that of St. *Andrew*. *Douglafs*, (who had in the Battel lost an Eye) and several others of the Nobles of *Scotland* were taken Prisoners, and most of the Gentry, and ten thousand common Soldiers were slain. Upon this Success, *Percy* entred *Scotland*, which, being void of defence, he miserably ransack'd.

And now King *Henry* found himself at leisure to chastise *Owen Glendor*, to which end he provided sufficient Forces; but the *French* King, hearing of it, resolved to assist him, hoping thereby in some measure to revenge the Injury done to his Daughter, by the Deposing and Murther of *Richard*. And therefore he sent him two thousand Men, who, landing in the Night about *Plymouth*, burnt and pillaged all the neighbouring Villages, not sparing the Abode or Boats of the poorest Fisherman, but having, by the violency of the Weather, lost twelve of their best Ships, and understanding that the Country-people, upon firing of the Beacons, were gathering together to give them Battel, they with much difficulty reimbark'd themselves, and went to St. *Maloes*, which was

so far from allwaging their *French* heat, that having provided a Fleet of Eighty Ships, and Twelve Thousand Soldiers, they once again put to Sea, and landing at *Milford Haven* they marched to *Denbigh*, doing all the Outrage as they went along by Fire and Sword, as is usually done in an Enemies Country. Where *Glendwr*, who staid there with Ten Thousand of his own Men, in expectation of them, having joyned them, they directed their course towards *Worcester*, intending to besiege it, but being terrified with the News of the King's approach, they only fired the Suburbs, and so retired back again into *Wales*, where they fortified themselves upon a Hill. *Henry* pursued them, and incamp'd himself likewise upon another Hill, opposite to them, with a resolution to give them Battel; but there being a Valley between the two Armies, which was disadvantageous to those who should first advance; they lay eight days in sight of each other, without fighting, only there hapned some slight skirmishes, wherein some few were slain on both sides; but *Henry* having cut off their Supplies of Victuals, he thereby forced them either to pass the Valley and fight, or else to retire: But being fearful of

tempting King *Henry's* Fortune, they thought that since they must either fight, or fly, the later was the safer course; wherefore about Midnight they raised their Camp, and marched away through woody and mountainous places. As soon as *Henry* understood it, he pursued them, but they, having the advantage of knowing those intricate ways better than he, intercepted his Supplies of Victuals, and thereby reduced him into the same necessity and want, which he before had brought them into; which, together with the approach of Winter, forced him to give over the Enterprize till the insuing Spring.

In the mean while, the *French* gave him some disturbance, the Earl of *St. Pauls*, making a vain attempt upon the *Isle of Wight*, but being beaten off, they were more Successful in *Gascony*, where they took several strong Towns. Nor was he more quiet at home, where a great storm, raised by a strange and unusual accident, threatned his ruin; for commanding the *Scotch* Nobles, who were lately taken prisoners at *Hamilton*, should be delivered to him, the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Worcester*, who were Brothers, and the Lord *Henry Percy*, *Northumberlands* Eldest Son, who

who had them in their keeping, told him, that they belonged not to him, being their Prey, won by them at the hazard of their Lives, and the expence of their Blood. The Earl of *Worcester*, who had been the Steward of *Richards* Household, was the Person who gave the advice to his Brother and Nephew, and about the same time likewise he went to the King at *Windsor*, and told him, *That in regard the Earl of March's being taken Prisoner by Glendor, was occasioned by his indeavouring to serve him, in defending his Subjects from his outrages, he ought to procure his freedom, either by Ransom, or some other means.* The King, perceiving whither this request tended, after a little pause, answered, *He was not taken Prisoner in his Service, but by his own consent, thereby to prevent his being forced to own himself an Enemy to Glendor.* Which answer he reported to his Brother and Nephew, with what aggravations his Malice to *Henry* could suggest; who both stormed thereat, especially the Lord *Percy*, saying, *That if he had been taken by his own consent, Glendor would have treated him better, and not have kept him in Fetters?* But *Henry*, having usurped his Kingdom, thought not only his Imprisonment, but even his Life to, would redound



redound to his advantage, if it could handsomely have been effected. And thereupon having first ransomed the Earl of *March*, and entred into a confederacy with *Glendor*, they raised a great Army, and prevailed with the *Scotch* Prisoners to joyn with them; likewise promising them their Liberty, and to Earl *Douglass* the Town of *Berwick*, and part of *Northumberland* to boot, with which young *Percy* drew into the Field; his Father, who was then sick, promising to follow him, so soon as he should recover his health. *Worcester* met him at *Stafford*, and from thence they marched towards *Shrewsbury*, giving out, that *Richard* was yet alive, and was then at *Chester*, and that their design was to invest him in his Throne, which was injuriously usurped by *Henry*.

But *Dumbar*, who, detesting so great a Villany, had forsaken them and fled to the King, perswaded *Henry* to follow them close at the heels, thereby to prevent their joyning with *Glendor*. And *Henry*, following his advice, pursued them to *Shrewsbury*, which *Percy* had a design upon; but being prevented by the King's approach, he resolved to adventure on giving Battel, his Soldiers promising to die in his defence, and to free the Kingdom

dom from being governed by a Tyrant, as he had made them believe *Henry* to be; in order whereunto he sent a Writing to the King, (wherein he only styled him Duke of *Lancaster*) the Contents whereof was, That notwithstanding he had, when he first returned to *England*, protested that he came only to recover his own Estate, and had no pretence to the Crown, he had acted quite otherwise, and both seized on the Kingdom, and murdered the King, and that the Kingdom did of right belong to the Earl of *March*, whom he, for that reason, had refused to ransom, and because they had set him at liberty, he had proclaimed them Traitors. And that therefore they did defie him, as a perjured Man, and a false Usurper of the Crown, which properly belonged to the Earl of *March*; And that with him they defied all his Complices who took part with him, as false Traitors and Destroyers of the State. Which Writing was subscribed by *Northumberland*, *Worcester*, and young *Percy*.

*Henry*, when he had read the Letter, without any discomposure, said merrily to the Messengers, *That his Sword should answer the Scandalous Falshoods of that Impertinent Paper.* But yet wisely considering, that to hazard his Estate, Life, and Honour

nour upon the Fate of one single Battel, would be an act of rashness, if it could possibly be avoided; and that it was Wisdom in Princes, to prefer their own Safety, and their Subjects Lives, before revenging themselves upon the Injuries offered them by their Enemies, especially since a lost Battel would prove so ruinous and irreparable a loss in a declining Fortune, He resolved to try if he could bring them to some reasonable Terms, rather than trust to the inconstancy of Fortune, which was not to be tried till the last extremity: In order whereunto, he sent them an offer of Pardon, if they would yield to reasonable Conditions. The Lord *Percy*, having received this offer of Pardon, and considering, as *Henry* had done, the uncertain event of War, accepted the Proposition, and sent his Uncle, the Earl of *Worcester*, to treat with the King about it, who entertained him with a more than ordinary submissiveness, and condescended to satisfy all his demands. Notwithstanding which, he was so inveterate in his Malice to the King, and so confident of Success, judging the King's Concessions were the effect of Fear and Cowardize, told his Cousin, that the King stood upon high Terms, and would grant nothing  
which

which they required. Whereupon, thinking himself undervalued, he commanded the sign of Battel to be immediately given by sound of Trumpet. The King's Forces sustained their first Onset with an undaunted Bravery; but the *Welsh* coming to their assistance, the Vantguard gave ground, and had been routed, had not the King relieved them with his own Battalion; whereupon young *Percy* advanced his likewise, resolving, if possible, to kill the King, and thereby assure to himself the Victory; which *Dumbar* perceiving, by their falling with so much violence upon that Quarter, that they bore down the Royal Standard, and slew most of those who did defend it: He did, with much importunity, prevail with the King to remove to another place; which if he had not done, he had not in all probability survived that day. *Henry* having with his remove renewed his Courage and Valour, and being desirous of revenge, by fighting and commanding, performed the part both of a Wise and Valiant General, and a Courageous Soldier; And Earl *Douglafs*, who sought after him, having at last found him fighting in one of the hottest parts of the Battel, he bore him down to the ground with his Spear; But getting on Horse-  
back

back again, and being intraged at the overthrow, he performed such Heroick Actions, as almost surmounted all belief, slaying with his own hands, as Historians affirm, Thirty Six of his Enemies. *Douglafs*, believing that he had slain *Henry*, pressed forwards still, and meeting with a second and a third, whose upper Garments were like the Kings, he slew, or at least overthrew, them both, but knew not what to think of his having encountred so many Kings in one Battel. *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, was wounded in the Face by a Dart; notwithstanding which, altho' he were then but a very Youth, he could not be perswaded to withdraw from the Battel, to have his Wounds dressed, but by his undaunted Courage gave sufficient proof, that he would be that valiant King he afterwards proved. The King's Forces being mightily encouraged, by seeing the valiant Acts of King *Henry* and his Son, pressed hard upon the Rebels; in the midst whereof young *Percy*, fighting according to his accustomed Valour and Bravery, was slain; upon which *Henry's* Men began to cry out Victory: which *Douglafs* hearing, and finding that he was no longer able to withstand King *Henry's* Fortunes, he set Spurs to his Horse, and fled, but  
 stumbling

stumbling upon the top of an Hill, he fell down, and, being much bruised with the fall, was taken prisoner, and so was *Worcester*, and several more, who were executed as Traitors, but *Douglas*, in regard he was no subject, but a professed Enemy, was by *Henry*, who thereby approved himself to be of a mild and generous Nature, commended and admired for his valorous Attempts, and set at liberty, without Ransom.

But *Owen Glendwr*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, remaining still as dangerous Enemies to *Henry*, he sent the Prince of *Wales*, against the former; who finding the *Welch* very much terrified and possessed with fear, upon the account of *Henry's* Victory at *Shrewsbury*. He chased them over the Mountains and thorough the Wood, till *Glendwr*, being forsaken by all men, was reduced to that extremity, that, as some Historians report, he dyed of Hunger, ending his Life, his Hopes, and his Principality together. And the Earl of *Northumberland*, being destitute of succour, yielded himself to *Henry*, and was pardoned. But these Troubles were no sooner over, but a Priest, who hated *Henry*, contriving how he might get him destroyed, made a Catalogue of the Names  
of

of all such as he knew had been obliged by *Richard*, taking it for granted, that they would easily have been prevailed upon to undertake the Business, and therefore he adventured to set down their Names, as if they had really given their Consent. And the Priest being discovered and taken with the List about him, those, whose Names were found therein, were look'd upon as Traitors, but by a free and voluntary Confession, that he had never treated with any one of them, but it was an Idea of his own, upon a bare presumption that some of them having been rewarded by *Richard*, and others injured by *Henry*, they would be willing to effect his ruine, he saved their lives and justly condemned his own. A *Franciscan* Fryer likewise, and Eight more of his Order, for being Authors of certain scandalous Libels against the King, and for saying, that if King *Richard* were alive, they would fight for him, as long as they could stand, against all men whatsoever, were condemned to be hanged; and so was Sir *Roger Clarington* (who was bastard Brother to King *Richard*) and two more.

About this time, one *Sherley*, who having been one of the Gentlemen of *Richard*'s Bedchamber, had withdrawn him-  
self



self to *France*, hearing that *Richard* was alive in *Scotland*, as he had divers times before been reported to be, he went thither, to know the truth. And notwithstanding, as soon as he saw the pretended *Richard*, he knew him to be an Impostor, yet, out of hatred to *Henry*, he resolved to lay hold of that pretence, and endeavour thereby, if possible, to deprive him of his Kingdom: And therefore, causing a Seal to be made, exactly like that which *Richard* was wont to use, and having written divers Letters to *Richard's* Friends in *England*, in his Name, he Sealed them with the same, by means whereof, many of those who received them did believe that *Richard* really sent them; and the old Countess of *Oxford*, mother to that Princess Favourite, the Duke of *Ireland*, confidently published the certainty thereof, and caused a great many *Stags*, which was *Richard's* Cognizance to be made in Gold and Silver, which she bestowed on those who depended on her, that they might wear them so soon as he should have entered *England*, and sent her Secretary into *Effex* to persuade people to take part with him: But by her too much boldness herein, it was discovered, and her self condemned to spend the rest of her daies

dares in a close Prison, and her Secretary to end his journey in a Halter. And *Sherley* understanding that his Plot took not its desired effect, and not having money to defray his Charge back again to *France*, he went to *Berwick* to Sir *William Clifford*, who being a friend to *Richard*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, he thought he would have furnished him with money, to have carried him to *France*. But he having kept the place against the Kings Will, refusing to resign it upon his Command, and considering that his respect to *Richard* was now useless, and that being thereby guilty of High Treason, he was liable to be besieged, taken and executed; in which case he could hope for no relief from *Northumberland*, who was now deprest: He detained *Sherley*, and sent him to the King, who, being condemned to Death, for his witty Contrivance, confessed himself to be one of them who had Strangled the Duke of *Gloucester*.

*Northumberland's* hatred being but the more increased, by the Overthrow and Slaughter of his Son, and Brother, he resolved to venture upon another Rebellion, to revenge the miscarriage of the former. To which end, he together with *Marmion*,  
 Earl

Earl Marshal, and *Richard le Scrope*, Archbishop of *York*, the Lord *Bardolph*, and the Lord *Hastings*, Conspired his ruine, agreeing among themselves to meet at an appointed time, with what forces each of them could get, which were all to have been united, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*. But the Arch-Bishops being too forward therein, broke the neck of the Design: For as soon as he and the Earl Marshal were return'd to *York*, from the Consult, he thought to facilitate the Design, by making it appear honest and commendable; to which purpose, he drew up several Articles, wherein he gave an account of the Reasons of their taking Arms, and endeavour'd thereby to justify their intended Proceedings. And having first sent several Copies of them into other Countries, he caused them to be set upon the Church doors; thereby inviting the People to take arms, and reform the abuses introduced by the ill administration of *Henry's* Government. And the Bishop being a man of much pretended Holiness, and having, till then, led a harmless and unblameable Life, the People thought him free from any evil intention, and therefore Twenty Thousand men immediately flocked to him.

*Henry*

Henry hearing of it sent the Earl of *Westmorland*, and one of his youngest Sons, against him, who finding when he came to *York*, that the Arch-Bishop had encamp't himself in the field, and that he was not strong enough to give him Battel, he encamp't himself over against him, and sent him word, that he wondred to find a man of his Profession engaged in a Rebellion, and disturbing the Kings Peace. To which he answered, He did not design to infringe the Kings Peace, but to preserve it, and thereupon shewed the messenger the Articles, and for the Earls better satisfaction, sent them to him by a Gentleman of his own. The Earl pretended to be highly satisfied therewith, and therefore desired a meeting with the Arch-Bishop to treat about their mutual Agreement. The Arch-Bishop, being overjoyed to hear his actions applauded by him that was sent to oppose him, was confident, when they came together, he should win him over to their side, and therefore agreed to the meeting, without the least scruple, which was appointed in a place between the two Camps, each of them being to carry an equal number of men to attend them. The Earl Marshal, at first, disliked it, and refused to go to the meeting, but being over-

overcome with the Bishops importunity,  
 he at last consented. And being met,  
*Westmorland*, after some discourse of the  
 business, pretended to be perswaded, and  
 protested that he would venture his Life  
 in so just a Quarrel, and thereupon, calling  
 for Wine, they shook hands, and drank  
 to each other, in sight of both their Ar-  
 mies; and then the Earl told him, that  
 their Differences being now composed,  
 and they mutually agreed, it would not be  
 amiss for them to disband their Armies,  
 that so they might likewise enjoy the bene-  
 fit of their Agreement; to which, being  
 altogether void of suspicion, he consent-  
 ed; and the Armies being sent away, they  
 went into the City together, both of them  
 being extreamly satisfied with what they  
 had done, tho' upon different reasons.  
 And whilst they were drinking and making  
 merry, the Earl's Men, who knew what  
 they had to do, stole together again, and  
 thereupon the Earl arrested the Arch-  
 bishop, and the Earl Marshal, and carried  
 them to the King, who was come to *Pom-  
 fret*: Whereupon *Henry* advanced to *Tork*,  
 where they were both adjudged to lose  
 their Heads; and having fined the City,  
 he went towards *Northumberland*, and  
 caused two Lords, and as many Knights,  
 who

who were in the Conspiracy, to be executed at *Durham*.

*Northumberland*, being informed of his Associates Misfortune, retired to *Berwick*; but not thinking himself safe enough there, he went to *Scotland*. When the King came to *Berwick*, he found it resolved not to yield, and therefore commanded a Piece of Cannon to be planted against the Castle, with which he made a very great breach at the first shot; whereat the Defendants being exceedingly amazed, it being a sort of Instrument that they had never seen before, and for ought I can find to the contrary, that was the first time, that ever any Cannon was used in *England*, they yielded themselves to the King's Pleasure, without any Conditions, who hanged some, and imprisoned others; and by this means got possession of all the Earl of *Northumberland's* Seats, and then returned home.

*Northumberland* having in the mean time employed himself in going up and down to procure Aid against the King, going first to *France*, from thence to *Flanders*, and then to *Wales*; but having but small success therein, he at last returned again to *Scotland*, and having there gotten together some Forces, he fell with great violence

lence upon *Northumberland*, where recovering several Castles, and having increased his Army, he marched into *Tork-shire*, inviting by Proclamation all those to side with him, that loved Liberty. *Henry* hearing of it, prepared to give him Battel; but as he was on his march toward him, he understood that Sir *Thomas Rocketby*, High-Sheriff of *Tork-shire*, had given him Battel, and slain him, and that he had taken the Lord *Bardolf* and several others Prisoners: *Bardolf* soon after died of his Wounds; and of the rest of the Prisoners, some were pardoned, and others executed. After which, *Henry* lived the remainder of his Reign in peace and quiet, having none to molest or disturb him: But having in the Year 1413. prepared to go into the *Holy Land*, and being just ready to imbarck himself, he was taken with a sudden Apoplexy, which compelled him to take a longer Voyage: In one of his fits, all men thinking he had been dead, Prince *Henry* took the Crown, which the King had, in his sickness, caused to be placed on a Pillow at his Beds-head, and withdrew himself into another Chamber; but recovering out of that fit, and missing the Crown, and being told who had taken it away, he presently commanded him to be



sent for, and being come, he demanded, how hadst thou presume to meddle with that, which did not belong to him? To which the Prince replied, *I know, Sir, the Crown is none of mine, whilst you live, and long may you live to wear it; but we did all think you had been dead, and I, being your eldest Son, and consequently your Heir, took it as the chief part of my Inheritance.* The King, fetching a deep sigh, replied, *You say well, my Son, but with what right I have enjoyed it, God only knows.* Be it as it will, replied the Prince, *you get it by the Sword, and by the Sword I resolve, when it is mine, to maintain it.* The King, being pleased with his Son's resolution, commended him to the Protection of the Almighty, and giving him Directions how to live well, soon after died, *March 20. 1413.* in the Fourteenth Year of his Reign, being a Prince of such extraordinary Qualifications, say some Historians, that tho' he were not born a King, yet he deserved to die one.

*Henry, Prince of Wales, who was, in regard he was born at Monmouth, called Henry of Monmouth, succeeded him, who having been somewhat wild, when he was Prince of Wales, Charles, the Dauphin of France, sent him in derision, a Tun of*  
*Paris*

*Paris* Tennis Balls, as a Present; in requital whereof, he sent him word, he would shortly send him some *London* Balls, which should make *Paris*-Walls to shake; and having, in order to the performing of his promise, made great preparation for the Invading that Kingdom, and being, at *Southampton*, ready to embark himself, he discovered a Conspiracy to murder him, contrived by the Earl of *Cambridge*, who was Brother to the Duke of *York*, Cousin German to the two former Kings, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Richard* the Second, and Grandson to *Edward* the Third; he had married *Ann*, great Grandchild to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Sister to *Edmond Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, the true Heir of the Crown, whom he designed, when he had killed King *Henry* and his Brethren, to advance to the Throne, in hope, that he having no Children, nor likely to have any, the Crown would have descended to him and his Son, by the right of his Wife, who was next Heir to *Edmond*. There were two more, who were ingaged with him in this Conspiracy, viz. the Lord *Henry Scrope*, and Sir *Thomas Grey*, who were all executed for the same. The manner of discovering this Treason is somewhat uncertainly reported by Hi-

storians, but that which seems most probable, is, That the Earl having thus contrived *Henry's* death, and the advancing *Edmond*, in hope, as I said before, to succeed himself, or his Son at least, he revealed his design to him, endeavoring to draw him to a consent, and, by many threatnings, compelled him to swear secrecy, and to promise, that within an Hour he would give in his Answer. Whereupon, *March* having no Children, and being himself of a peaceable nature, and void of ambition, he resolved not to hazard his own Life to please his Brother-in-Laws aspiring Humour, and therefore repairing immediately to the King, he privately discovered it to him.

The business of this Plot being over, the King set sail for *France*, with fifteen hundred Sail of Ships, and, at his very first arrival, took *Harflem*, a very convenient Port, and then marching further up into the Country, he fought and routed an Army six times, some write ten times, his number, in which Battel the Duke of *Tork* was slain. After this Victory *Henry* returned to *England*, and entred *London* in a triumphant manner, the Citizens presenting him with a Thousand Pound, and two Gold Basons. And a Parliament, which  
he

he soon after called, granted him a Subsidy, and a Tenth, for carrying on his Wars; but that being too little, he pawned his Crown to Cardinal *Beaufort* for a great sum of Money, and his Jewels to the Lord Mayor of *London* for Ten Thousand Marks: And then with an Army of resolute Men he passed into *France*, where he won several strong Places, and obtain'd immortal Honour.

Whilst he was in *France*, the *Scots* entred *England*, bringing with them one whom they pretended was King *Richard*, and that they came to re-establish him in his Throne. They laid close siege to *Roxburgh* and *Berwick*, but hearing that there was an Army of *English* upon their march, to give them Battel, they retired with some hast and disorder.

In the mean time *Henry* prosecuted his War in *France* with such vigor, that he carried all before him, and made most Places, where he came, to yield to him; so that in the end King *Charles* was forced to obtain Peace, by consenting that King *Henry* should marry his Daughter, the Lady *Catharine*, and that he should be acknowledged King of *France*, only *Charles* was to enjoy the Title during his Life; which Agreement being over, he returned

to *England*: But soon after returned again to suppress the Dauphin, who indavaoured to maintain his Title. The Queen being, in the time of his absence, delivered of a Son at *Windsor*, who was likewise called *Henry*; the News thereof reaching the King, as he lay before *Meaux*, he was highly pleased therewith; but yet, displeased with the place of his Birth, he is reported to have said, *I Henry of Monmouth have Reigned a few Years, and have got much, and Henry of Windsor shall Reign long, and lose all at last.* Soon after this, the Queen went over to the King, and they kept the Feast of *Pentecost* in the *Louvre*, where they both sate in their Majesty, arrayed in their Royal Robes, and having their Imperial Crowns on their heads: But in the prime of his Days, and in the midst of his Victories, he was forced to submit himself to a greater Conqueror, dying *August 31. 1422.* *Henry of Windsor* succeeded him, in whose Reign the Civil Wars between the two Houses, which had by his Father's activity, and the Wars with *France*, been laid asleep, were revived again, after about Forty Years recess. King *Henry* was Crowned at Eight Months old; the Care of his Person being committed to the Duke

Duke of *Exeter*, his Daughter to the Queen Dowager, and the Government of the Kingdom, and the Regency of *France*, to his two Uncles, *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, and *John* Duke of *Bedford*.

The *French* King did not survive the King of *England* above a Month and some few Days; upon whose death the *Dauphin* was proclaimed King of *France*, by some few who cleaved to him; and altho' he then enjoyed little more than the Dukedom of *Berry*, yet he endeavour'd to enlarge his Dominions, by the help of some Forces, which he received from *Italy* and *Scotland*; but the Duke of *Bedford* gave him Battel, and overthrew him, the Constable and Lieutenant of *France*, and five Thousand others, being slain. But in regard I design not to treat of matters in general, but only of the Wars occasioned by the different Pretences to the Crown, I shall omit the rest of *Henry's* Reign, till I come to the Affairs which immediately preceded and were the occasion of raising that sleeping War, which proved so fatal to both Houses, and to the Nation in general.

*Edmond*, Earl of *March*, being dead, he was succeeded in the Earldom of *March*, and his Title to the Crown, by *Richard*.

Earl of Cambridge, Son to Richard, Earl  
 of Cambridge, who was beheaded for con-  
 spiring to kill King Henry the Fifth, at  
*Southampton*, when he was imbarcking him-  
 self for his first Invasion of *France*. About  
 which time an unhappy difference fell out  
 between the Duke of *Glocester*, and the  
 Cardinal of *Winchester*, who was the  
 King's great Uncle, both of them Men of  
 great Spirits, desirous to Command, but  
 hating to Obey, but especially the Cardi-  
 nal, whose Pride and Ambition was so ex-  
 orbitant, that he affirmed, the Govern-  
 ment of the King belonged more properly  
 to him than to *Glocester*. And to such an  
 height did this difference arise, that there  
 was a great Guard kept night and day,  
 for fear, lest their private difference  
 should have broke out into publick mis-  
 chief among their Adherents; and *Win-*  
*chester* knowing he could not ruin him, so  
 long as he and the Duke of *Bedford* were  
 united, he indeavoured to win him over  
 to his side; wherefore, writing to him, he  
 acquainted him with the difference, assu-  
 ring him, that if he did not immediately  
 come for *England*, his Brother would cer-  
 tainly be the occasion of abundance of  
 mischief, which he prayed God to pre-  
 vent. This News made such an impression  
 upon



upon the Duke, that leaving the Earl of *Warwick*, his Lieutenant in the Regency, he came to *England*, and repairing immediately to *Lancaster*, where the Parliament then sat, he blamed those Lords who had sided in this difference, (not naming his Uncle or Brother) telling them, that their folly had indangered the Peace both of the King and Kingdom, and very much damaged the *English* Affairs in *France*; exhorting them therefore to lay aside their Passions, and become more peaceable and moderate in their carriage to each other. Notwithstanding which, *Glocester*, in full Parliament, complained, That he was, by the Cardinal's advice, notwithstanding his being Governor of the Kingdom, denied entrance into the *Tower*; That he indeavoured to seize the King, and carry him from *Eltham* to *Windsor*, without his own or the Councils consent; That when he resolved to hinder him, he caused the Bridge to be shut, and the Chains to be drawn against him, indeavouring, by the assistance of armed men, to have slain him; And lastly, That in the time of *Henry* the Fourth, a Man being, by the barking of a Dog, discovered behind the Hangings of the great Chamber in *Westminster*; he confessed, upon

being examined by the Earl of *Arundel*, that he was placed there by the Bishop of *Winshester*, to kill Prince *Henry* in his Bed. The Parliament were not inclined to believe this Accusation, which was most of it false and improbable, even before the Bishop made his defence; but when he had given in his Answer to the several Articles of his Charge, he thereby so justified his Innocency, that all men were satisfied: whereupon the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Norfolk*, the Bishops of *Durham*, *Worcester* and *Bath*, the Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Lord *Cromwel*, were appointed, by the rest of the Peers, to decide the difference between them; who having made them promise, that both They and all their Adherents should stand to their Award, framed a certain set-form of Words for them to speak to each other, the King being present, at the same time, in the House of Peers; which being done, they shook hands, and seemed to be very good friends.

*Henry*, who being of a very quiet and peaceable nature, and hating all kind of quarrels and differences, was highly pleased with this Reconciliation, and declared the pleasure he took therein, by Solemn

Feasting

Feasting and Mirth: To increase the splendour whereof, he Created *Richard Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Duke of *York*, his Uncle, who last enjoyed that Title, being slain at the first Battel which *Henry* the Fifth fought in *France*, commonly called the Battel of *Agencourt*, and, dying without Issue, his Title and Estate had fallen of course to this *Richard*, who, being his Brother's eldest Son, was his next Heir, had not his being tainted in Blood, by his Father's Treason, bebarred him thereof. But being now restored in Blood, and promoted to this and other Honours and Places of Trust, by *Henry*, he was thereby emboldened to attempt the pulling down him, by whom he was raised, and contend with him even for the Crown it self; which he and his Son *Edward*, by force and violence, rent from *Henry* and his *Lancastrian* Family, although, in all probability, he would not otherwise have arrived at confidence enough to have made Friends and Wealth, wherewith to have maintained his Claim. But *Henry*, by his Creation, and other Honours which he perpetually heaped upon him, chalked him out the way, and led him by insensible steps to the Conquest of his Kingdom.

And

And the first considerable step he made towards Sovereignty, was, his procuring himself to be made Regent of *France*, upon the death of the Heroick *Bedford*, although the King had several nearer Relations, who looked to have been preferred before him, and finding themselves rejected, thought to revenge the supposed Injury, by finding means to delay his repairing thither; which proved more fatal to the King and Kingdom, than to him: for *Paris*, and all the chief Places the *English* held in *France*, were in the mean time lost, which, by impoverishing the King, and discontenting the Subjects, tended to the advancing his design: But having, at last, gotten what was necessary for his Voyage, he went to *Normandy*, and entred upon his Charge, which he managed with such Prudence and Justice, that although he were present at no one Action of War, during his whole Regency, except the taking of *Fescampe*, yet when he resigned it to the Earl of *Warwick*, who was sent thither to succeed him therein, he left behind him the reputation of a Wise, a Just, and Fortunate Governour. And, upon the death of *Warwick*, who died in his Regency, he was sent over again; and thereby had an opportunity

to scue himself higher in the Peoples Affections, by rendring his Valour as much admired now, as his Wisdom had been before. For, upon his first coming over, the King of *France*, followed by most of his Nobles, attempting the recovery of *Pontoufe*, *Tork* went, with Eight Thousand Men, to raise the Siege, offering, by his Heralds, to give him Battel; which *Charles* refused, upon a presumption, that the River being between him and *Tork*, he could, by securing the Bridge, prevent his passing over, to force him thereunto. But the Duke commanding Sir *John Talbot* to advance toward the Bridge, as tho' he were resolved to force his way over, he, in the mean while, sent some of his Men over the River, in Boats which he had brought with him in Carts, who presently made a Bridge of Boats and Planks, fastned together with Ropes, over which he marched his whole Army, before *Charles*, who was busied in making good the Bridge against *Talbot*, had any notice of his design; so that finding himself reduced to a necessity of fighting or flying, he chose the later, not daring to run the hazard of Battel, the loss whereof might have proved very fatal to him; and therefore, rising in the night, he retired to *Poissy*.

The

The Duke, who had by break of day, put his Men in Battel-Array, finding him gone, pursued him, but could by no means draw him to fight.

After this, the Duke resolving to preserve what remained in the hands of the *English*, and recover as much as possible of what they had lost, he removed the War into the Enemies Country, that so he might, by assaulting them at home, prevent them from molesting the *English* Territories; to which end, he drew forth the best Soldiers out of all his Garrisons, and divided them into three parts: The Lord *Willoughby* Commanding the first, Sir *John Talbot* the second, and himself and *Somerset* the third, which entering *Picardy, Anjou, Mayne* and *Normandy*, they did the *French* a world of damage; and reduced several Places to the Obedience of the *English*.

X Whilst things were thus managed in France, *Glocester's* ruin was contrived in England; who forgetting that the death of *Bedford* had lessened the Authority which was due to him, as Uncle and Protector of the King; And provoked by the Cardinals Pride and Insolency, whose ambition was now grown so high, that, he pretended the good of the King and Kingdom

at Rouen 1435

Kingdom depended upon the sagacity of his advice. He preferred twenty four Articles against him, some whereof touch'd likewise upon the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, (which procured him also to be his Enemy) the consideration whereof was referred to the Council; which, consisting chiefly of Ecclesiastical Persons, found means, in favour of the two great Prelates, to delude the Duke with fair promises, whereby the whole business was buried in silence, and no more heard of it: For the Duke, being of a temper more violent than revengeful, remained satisfied in having vented his Choler, though the Cardinals insolency was never punished. Whilst, on the contrary, the Cardinal was, notwithstanding his extraordinary Pride, more revengeful than hot, whereby he did the more secretly and securely accomplish the determined ruin of the Duke; wherein he proceeded gradually, lest, by attempting it at once, he might have failed in the performance, and in danger'd himself by the discovery of his intention: And therefore, he first caused his Dutches to be accused of Treason and Witchcraft, for having made the King's Image in Wax, to the end, she might cause him to pine and waste away, that  
so



so her Husband might come to the Crown. Upon which Accusation, she, and four more, who were accused as her accomplices, were examined, in St. Stephen's Chapel, before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; who, being ingaged with the Cardinal, in endeavouring the Duke's ruin, Sentenced the Dutchess to do publick Penance in three several places, and to suffer perpetual Imprisonment in the Isle of *Man*: One of her Accomplices was Pardoned; one, who was said to be a Witch, was burnt in *Smithfield*; another was Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, who protested, at his death, that there never was any such wickedness imagined by them, and the fourth died the night before he should have been Executed. This Crime was so scandalous, that the Duke, altho' he loved her extreamly, never concerned himself therein, but patiently indured the affront.

And now King *Henry* being offered the Daughter of Count *Armignack* for a Wife, together with all those Places, which her Father possess'd in *Gascony*, and Mony, and other Assistances, for the recovery of what was deteined from him by the *French* King, which would have been a very advantageous Match for *England*. It was  
however

however rejected, and a Match propos'd by *Suffolk*, with *Margarit*, the Daughter of *Renatus*, Duke of *Anjou* and *Lorrain*. who was possessed, besides his two Dukedoms, with two imaginary Kingdoms, viz. *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*. This Match, altho' the most dishonourable and useless that could have been thought of, was soon concluded; in consideration whereof, *Henry* was to restore, to her Father, all that belonged to him in *Anjou* and *Mayne*: which, besides the loss in it self, opened a way for *Charles* to possess himself of *Normandy*. *Glocester* was the only person who opposed this *French* Match, but all his reasons being too little to prevent it, he thereby procured to himself another Enemy, to assist the Cardinal the Bishop and the Earl of *Suffolk* in effecting his ruin; being thought by her (besides the opposing her Marriage) the only Person, whose Prudence, Authority and great Birth, seemed to Impeach that Sovereignty, which she, and her partakers, pretended to settle in the King, but meant indeed, as it is usual under weak Princes, to Reign themselves in his Name. But his being so universally beloved rendring the attempting his Life any other way impossible, they made use of the Law for effecting their

their design, accusing him, at the Council-Table, of several Crimes, of all which he acquitted himself with Honour and Applause; whereat they, being grieved, procured a Parliament to be called at *Berry*, whither he repairing with the rest of the Peers, suspecting nothing, was Arrested of High Treason, by the Lord *Beaumont*, High-Constable of *England*, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerset*, and others: And being committed to safe Custody, he was, within a few days, or, as some write, the same night, found dead, the pretence being, that he died suddenly, either of an Apoplexy or an Imposthume in his Head; but all Men concluded he was Murthered, although it was done so slyly, that the manner, how they did it, is not certainly known to this day. Five of his Servants were, for the better covering the business, Condemned to die, upon pretence, as being ingaged with him in his Treason: But, as they were led to Execution, they had their Pardons brought them by the Marquess of *Suffolk*. And thus fell this great Man, whose fall made the way more open for *Henry's* and the House of *Lancaster's* ruin, and the rise of the House of *York*: Nor did the Cardinal survive him above fifteen or sixteen days,

to enjoy the supposed benefit of his wicked revenge. But the Queen, who hoped to reap the greatest advantage thereby, having, by so cruel a way, obtained her desire, and thinking, now *Glocester* was dead, none durst contradict her, she undertook to dispose and manage every thing as she pleased, to the disgusting of all Persons except her own Favourites.

Whilst *York*, who saw that all those things tended to advance his Design, made use of them, as arguments, to persuade his friends, and others, who were disgusted at the Queens ill Government, to side with him in helping him to the Crown, which was usurped from him by the House of *Lansaster*; telling them, that besides the Justice they would thereby do to him, they should likewise free themselves from the exorbitant Rule of an Imperious Woman, and her proud Favourites, who Governed all things as they pleased, making use of the King's Name and Authority, only to procure obedience to their own Commands: Whereby, together with the reputation he had won in *France*, he prevailed with abundance to imbrace his Interest, many whereof were Persons of greatest Quality, which was, however, managed with great secrecie. And, as if  
fortune

fortune it self had been of *York's* Council and Conspiracy, a Rebellion was raised in *Ireland*; and he being sent thither to appease it, not only increased his fame in *England*, where it was too great before, but likewise won so much reputation and friendship in that Kingdom, that, for his sake, they forsook the King to imbrace the Interell of the House of *York*. But *Suffolk* being an obstacle in the way of *York's* Preferment, he was accused, to the Parliament, of several great Crimes, for which he was sent to the Tower; but being, by the Queens influence, set at Liberty about a Month after his Commitment, it so incensed the People, that, for fear of a Rising, the Places, which were enjoyed by his friends, were taken away, and himself was banished for five years: In order whereunto, as he was passing into *France*, he was set upon and taken by a Man of War, belonging to the Earl of *Exeter*, and being beheaded on Board the Ship, his Body was thrown upon the Shore, having very few to pity him, because most men believed it to be a Just revenge, from Heaven, for the Murther of *Glocester*.

*Suffolk* being removed, *York's* Creatures secretly began to endeavour the withdrawing the Peoples affections from the King,

King, and render him despised and hateful to his Subjects, by aggravating the shameful loss of *France*, and the Kingdoms being Governed by an insulting Woman; and telling them, that they would do well to take example by *Ireland*, which they might see, in a short time, reduced to Discipline and Order, by the Wisdom and Valour of the Duke of *York*: Adding, that *England* stood in need of such a King. And lest those, whom he had procured to be his friends, should have been by degrees alienated again, he resolved, by drawing them into an Insurrection, to unite them the more firmly to his Interest, by their fear of being punished for their Rebellion; to which end, he prevailed with *John Cade*, an *Irish* Man, of a mean and obscure Birth, but a bold and a daring Spirit, to feign himself to be his Cousin, and of the Family of the *Mortimers*, to the end, that he might be thereby favoured by the true *Mortimers*, who did not know him, and seduce the common People, whom he was to work on, and incite to a Rebellion. *Cade*, having received his instructions, made choice of *Kent* for the Stage whereon to Act his Part, in regard, its being near *London* render'd it fitter for his design than any other County; where having  
inflamed

inflamed the Inhabitants, and disposed them to a Rebellion, by aggravating the King's weakness, the Queens insolency, and the avarice of the Ministers, and by persuading them, that *Kent* was designed to be destroyed and turned into a Forest, to revenge the death of *Suffolk*: He offered himself to become their Leader, promising, that when he had possessed himself of the Kings Person, and driven away those who had Governed him amiss, all their Grievances should be redressed, and the Chain of their Servitude broken. Whereupon a great number of People flocked to him, with whom he marched toward *London*, styling himself the Captain of *Kent*; and having Incamped himself on *Surry* side, he sent for *Thomas Cook*, a Woollen Draper, under a safe Conduct, and commanded him to send him a certain number of Arms and Horse, and a thousand Marks of ready Mony, at the charge of the Merchants, strangers, that inhabited in the City: Threatning, that if it were not performed, he would, when he entered the City, destroy them all.

*Henry*, by Advice of his Council, sent to know the Reasons, which had moved him to take up Arms? To which he answered, To redress the Evils under which  
the



the Subjects groaned, and Chastise those who had almost ruined the Kingdom: And for a fuller Answer to their Demands, he delivered them two Papers; the first whereof he called the Commons of *Ken's* Complaints; and the second, their Demand from the King. Which being exorbitant, and not to be complied with, *Henry* in person marched against them with Fifteen Thousand Men, with a design to give him Battel; but *Cade*, pretending fear, retired into a Wood near *Sevenoak*, hoping that the King, emboldened by his flight, would set upon him in disorder; but *Henry*, upon good advice, failed his expectation: However, the Queen, persuading her self he really fled for fear, sent Sir *Humphry Stafford* and his Kinsman against him, who were both slain, and most of those who followed them. Upon the News whereof, those of the King's Camp, being in their hearts offended at the Queen's Government, discovered their Inclinations, wishing that the Duke of *York* were with him to improve that opportunity to obtain his right. Which Whispers, coming to the King's ear, somewhat terrified him; wherefore, returning to *London*, the Lord *Say*, who was then Treasurer, was secured in

in the *Tower*, that so he might, if need should require, be sacrificed to the fury of the People. *Cade*, grown proud of his Victory, put on the Arms of Sir *Humphrey Stafford*, and returned again to *Black-Heath*, being now grown much stronger, by the multitudes who flocked to him upon the account of his Victory. So that when the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was sent to him, to know what would satisfie him? they found him so puff'd up with pride and insolency, that he refused to agree to anything, unless the King would come himself in person, and grant what he demanded; whereupon the King and Queen retired to *Killingworth*, leaving no other Forces in *London* than what were necessary to guard the *Tower*, under the Command of the Lord *Scales*, and Sir *Matthew Gough*, one of the most ancient and reputed Commanders in the Wars with *France*. *Cade's* arrogancy increasing by the King's flight, he marched directly to *London*; but, not suffered to enter, he lodged in *Southwark*. The Commons of *Essex*, who, in imitation of him, had taken Arms likewise, having incamp'd themselves about *Mile-end* at the same time. The Lord Mayor, supposing it would be equally dangerous to permit or deny him entrance,

entrance, called a Common Council to debate the matter, wherein *Robert Horn*, one of the Aldermen, affirmed, that he was by no means to be permitted entrance; which, when the Rebels understood, they raged exceedingly, threatening a speedy revenge: whereat the affrightned Mayor being terrified, he sent *Horn* to *Newgate*, and let *Cade* into the City; who, being entred, caused Proclamation to be made, in the King's Name, That no Man should steal, or take away any thing by force, upon pain of death; hoping thereby to gain the greater credit with the Citizens; and as he marched through *Canon-street*, he struck his Sword upon the Stone, commonly called *London-stone*, saying, *Now is Mortimer Master of London*. And the next day he caused the Lord *Say* to be arraigned and condemned, by the Lord Mayor and several of the King's Judges, whom he commanded to sit, for that purpose, in the Mayor's Court; the accused Lord demanded his lawful Privilege, of being judged by his Peers, but all in vain; for being carried into *Cheapside*, he was beheaded, and his Head being carried upon the point of a Spear in Triumph, his naked Body was dragged at a Horses Tail into the Suburbs, and there

quartered; He murdered many others; forc'd *Horn* to redeem himself from the like punishment, at the price of Five Hundred Marks, and at last fell to plundering the Houses of the richest Citizens; whilst others, terrified thereby, were glad to purchase their safety by large Sums of Money. Whereupon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, advising about a remedy, resolved, when he was returned into *Southwark*, (which he did every Night, making that his Head-Quarters) to fortifie the Bridge against him, to prevent his re-entring the City. The Lord *Scales*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and Sir *Matthew Gough* joined with them, the first promising to play upon them with his Cannon, and the second to be their Leader. About Midnight they began to barricade the Bridge, but the Rebels, being advertised thereof, indeavoured to prevent them, falling upon them with much fury; so that there was a cruel fight between them, which lasted till Nine of the Clock the next Morning, wherein *Gough* and many others were slain, and many Houses were burned by the Rebels. So that the clattering of the Weapons, the raging of the Fire, and the pitifull Outcries of Men, Women, and Children, who

who could not save themselves from its increasing Flame, (many whereof ran from one death to meet another, and threw themselves into the Water, to avoid the violence of the Fire) was a most wretched and deplorable sight, yet not sufficient to appease the anger of the Combatants, or make them give over the Fight, till weariness compelled them thereunto: Whereupon *Cade* caused the Prisoners in the *Kings-Bench* and *Marshalsea* to be let out, and armed them, thereby to increase his strength. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who was then Lord Chancellor, having drawn up a General Pardon, and Authorized it with the Great Seal, crossed the *Thames* about the *Tower*, and causing it to be publicly proclaimed in *Southwark*; it was so generally accepted by the Rebels, that they immediately departed to their own homes, without seeing or taking leave of their Captain. So that seeing himself suddenly forsaken, and those Forces which were promised him, from such as sided with *Tork*, not appearing, he fled disguised into *Suffex*, whither several were sent, in pursuit of him; and being found in a Garden, by one *Eden*, he was by him slain, fighting hand to hand, and his Body brought up to *London*.

*York* being advertised of the death of *Cade*, and the miscarriage of that Enterprize, but withal, that the Losses abroad, and Discontents at home, rendred it a very fit time for him to put himself into action, he presently left *Ireland*, and went to raise Men in *Wales*; and having got together a good Army, he marched towards *London*, and passing the *Thames*, at *Kingston*, he incamp'd himself at *Dartford*, in *Kent*: The King marched thither likewise, and being of a very peaceable nature, he sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, to demand the cause of his appearing in Arms? To which *York*, who designed no more by this first Enterprize, but only to remove *Somerſet*, to pry into the Peoples Inclinations, and procure more to favour his Pretences, by possessing the World with a good opinion of his Actions, answered, He did not take up Arms against the King, nor any of his Friends, but only against some ill men that were about him, the chief whereof was *Somerſet*, who was equally an enemy to his felicity, and the publick welfare; promising, that if the King would commit him to safe custody, he would presently dismiss his Army.

*Henry*

Henry, having received this Answer, rather chusing to temporise and seem at least to gratifie his desire, than run the hazard of reducing him to his obedience by force, and therefore gave order immediately for the taking *Somerſet* into custody. Whereupon *Tork*, according to his promiſs, diſmiſſed his Army, and came and threw himſelf at the King's feet, and by Proteſtations, of his Loyal Intentions, indeavoured to juſtifie his own Actions, accusing *Somerſet* of Treason, Oppreſſion, and many other Crimes; whereupon *Somerſet*, who was not far off, hearing himſelf wounded in his Honour, could no longer contain himſelf; but coming forth from the place where he was concealed, he not only juſtified himſelf againſt *Tork*, and proved that he was innocent of the Crimes wherewith he had charged him, but likewiſe accused his accuſer of High Treason, for having conſpired the Death of the King, and conſulted with ſeveral of his Accomplices, how he might, with the leaſt danger to himſelf, wreſt his Crown and Scepter from him. Whereupon *Tork* was detained as a Priſoner, and being convey'd to *London*, was preſented, by *Henry*, before a great Council, which he had cauſed to be aſſembled, for that

G 3.      purpoſe,



purpose, at *Westminster* : Where the two Dukes accusing each other of Treason, and both denying the Charge, and protesting their Innocency, nothing could be resolved on ; so that altho' *Somerſet* affirmed, that *Tork* had, long ago, resolved upon the ruin of *Henry*, and the House of *Lancaster*, that so he might set the Crown upon his own head, and transplant the Royal Dignity into the House of *Tork*, and desired to have him put to the Rack ; yet he was released, and thereupon retired himself into *Wales*, to expect a more promising opportunity, and left *Somerſet* to be the sole Moderator of the whole Government.

But *Tork* concluding that he should never be able to wrest the Scepter out of *Henry's* hand, till he had, in order thereunto, first effected the ruin of *Suffolk* ; whereby he should, at once, take revenge upon a hated Enemy, remove the greatest Obstacle to his Ambitious Designs, deprive the King of his best Support, and win the Love and Affections of all Men ; of the Common People, by ruining a Man, who was generally detested by them, for the loss of *Normandy* ; of the Nobility, by reducing him, whose too much Greatness and Authority they infinitely envied. He  
 shortly

shortly after returned to *London* again, and being assisted by several great men, who favoured his Pretences, especially the Earl of *Salisbury*, and, his Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, he caused *Somerſet* to be arrested, in the Queen's Lodgings, and carried to the *Tower*. In this Enterprize he met with little or no opposition, in regard *Henry* was then sick; but as soon as he was recovered, he not only restored him to his former liberty, but preferred him likewise to the Government of *Calice*, which was at that time the most considerable and important Charge the King could have possibly conferred upon him: Whereby he discontented his Subjects; who, attributing the loss of the greatest part of *France* to his ill management, concluded, that he was a person no way fit to be made Chief Governor of the only place that remained. And *York*, concluding that *Somerſet*'s Preferment, and the Peoples Discontent, naturally tended to the furthering his Designs, he resolved, a third time, to attempt his ruin; to which purpose he retired again into *Wales*, and having there, with the greatest speed and secrecy, got together a considerable Army, he march'd towards *London*. But *Henry* being advertised of his march, would not

wait his coming to *London*, but being accompanied by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Stafford*, *Northumberland*, *Devonshire*, *Dorset*, and *Wiltshire*, abundance of Barons and Gentlemen of Quality, and what other Forces he could get together, met him at *St. Albans*; and according to the peaceable instinct of his nature, sent to know his Pretensions? But just as the Messengers arrived at his Camp, the Earl of *Warwick* suddenly set upon the Royal Vant-guard, and disordred it, before *Somerset* was able to succor it; whereupon, the two Armies closing, a cruel Battel ensued, each side making good their station, and no man recoiling; but every one fought with as much fierceness, as if they had taken up a resolution, that not a man in the whole Field should have survived the Battel. *Tork* placed himself upon a rising ground, from whence he observed all Occurrences, and sent fresh Soldiers to supply the places of such as were slain or wounded; which *Somerset* could not do, being both inferior in number, and himself more busie in fighting than in making provision: So that he and almost all the Royalists were slain, and the King himself was taken Prisoner.

*Tork,*

*York*, having obtained this Victory, concluded, that now there remained nothing for him to do, but to assume the Crown; However, *Somerſet* being dead, and *Henry* in his hands, ſo that he could, under colour of his Name and Power, govern all things as he pleaſed, he thought it the ſafeſt way, to aſcend the Throne gradually, and therefore contenting himſelf, at preſent, with the Power, he deferred the aſſuming the Name of Ma-jeſty, till a more convenient opportunity.

Having found *Henry* in a poor man's Houſe, whither he had withdrawn himſelf, he carried him from thence, with all ſeeming reſpect, telling him that *Somerſet's* death, had eſtabliſhed his Throne, and ſetled his Crown the firmer upon his head. But as ſoon as they came to *London*, he began to exerciſe the Kingly Power, in *Henry's* Name, for he ſummoned a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*; wherein he procured all things that had been aſted, from the very firſt day of *Henry's* Reign, to that time, to be reverſ'd; himſelf, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, with the reſt of their Associates, to be indemnified, from future puniſhment, for their late Inſurrection. And, as the Foun-

dation whereon he intended to raise the superstructure of his designed Monarchy, he caused himself, and his two chief Associates, *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, to be erected in a Triumvirate; whereby he left nothing remaining to *Henry*, but the bare Title of King, for the whole Power and Authority remained in those three: The Political in *Tork*, who was made Governor of the Kingdom; the Civil in *Salisbury*, who was made Lord Chancellor; and the Military in *Warwick*, who was appointed Governor of *Calice*. This being done, he next proceeded to settle all things as himself pleased; all those, whom he thought, depended upon the King or Queen, he thrust from the Council, and benefit of all Authority: And, taking the Duke of *Exeter* from Sanctuary, by force, sent him Prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle, a Sacriledg that none, before him, had ever adventured to commit.

But this Triumvirate continued but a short time, for the young Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and divers other Noble Men, who still retained a Veneration of *Henry's* Majesty, perceiving that *Tork's* design was the Usurpation of the Crown, and that his delay only proceeded from his fear of danger; lest, if he

he should attempt it suddenly, *Henry's* being Beloved and Reverenced for his Piety, should render his attempt vain, and break the neck of his whole design, resolved, at once, to free both him and themselves from the impending danger; to which end, they consulted with the Queen (who being a Woman of a high Spirit, highly Stomached the forced Subjection) what was to be done: They Summoned a great Council to Assemble at *Greenwich*, wherein it was Resolved, That since the King was not a Child, he needed not a Protector, And that since he was not a Fool, there was no reason that he should be Governed at other Mens discretions: And that therefore *York* should be freed of his Protectorship, and *Salisbury* of his Chancellorship. But they left *Warwick* in possession of the Government of *Calice*; by which means, what they did, signified no more than if they had sate still and done nothing at all. *York* was so strangely surpris'd with this sudden and unexpected blow, that he was not able to guard himself from the force of it, and therefore pretended a willing compliance with the Order; but immediately thereupon left the Court, being rather confirmed, by this affront, in his resolutions, to push

on his former Designs of assuming the Title of Royal Majesty, than any way discouraged from so doing. Which the Queen fearing, and concluding, within herself, that it was impossible to secure the Crown to *Henry*, and the House of *Lancaster*, any other way, but by the ruin of *York*, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, which was impossible to be effected, but under the colour of some specious pretence; she resolved to try, if Feminine subtilty could not effect that which Masculine Power was not able to perform. And in order thereunto, having persuaded the King to go to *Coventry*, for change of Air, and to spend some time in Hawking and Hunting, she sent for them, by express Letters from the King, to come thither upon pretence of some extraordinary business; which they believing, had gone and been caught, had they not been, by their Spies at Court, advertised of their danger.

*Henry*, when he understood the Queens Design, was highly displeased therewith, as a thing contrary to his good inclinations; and therefore, returning to *London*, he called a Council, wherein, having stated the condition of the Nation, he told them, *That their Divisions at home, had*  
*given*



given great advantage to their Enemies abroad, and encouraged both the French and Scots to invade them, and that therefore a reconciliation was absolutely necessary; assuring them, that it was a thing he so much desired, that, for his own part, he would forget the injuries offered to him'self, and endeavour that his Kindred should do so too, and be willing to agree with those who had, in the late uproars, spilt their Blood: So that York, and his Faction, should have nothing to do but to demand. This Proposal of the King, being generally approved of by the Council, several Persons of Quality were chosen to go to the several Parties to acquaint them therewith; whereupon, York, Salisbury and Warwick, came to London, attended with 1500 Men, and Somerset, Northumberland and Clifford, whose Fathers were all slain in the Battel at Saint Albans, waited on by the like number: Most of the Noble-men in the Kingdom repaired thither likewise, very well attended with Armed Men; different Lodgings were appointed them, thereby to prevent their incountring. The City was assigned to York and his Faction, the Suburbs to the Lancasterians, and the King and the Queen lay at the Bishop of Londons, that so they might be as a barr between them and the Major;

Major ; and other Magistrates of *London*, with five thousand Armed Men, supplying the place as a Guard, walked the streets, night and day, to prevent Tumults: The *Yorkists* used to gather together at *Black-fryars*, and the *Lancasterians* at *Westminster*. And, at last, through the Mediation of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Reconciliation was agreed upon, and Signed by each Party ; wherein they all obliged themselves to the obedience of the King, and to esteem those as Friends or Enemies, whom the King should account such: Which being done, a solemn Procession was made, wherein the Nobility, of both Factions, having intermingled themselves, walk'd before the King, who was Array'd in his Royal Robes, and his Imperial Crown on his Head. *York* followed the King, leading the Queen in his hand ; so that all former differences seemed now to be wholly forgot and buried in Oblivion: But it was not long before their former Animosities revived again, upon occasion of the following accident.

Things being thus seemingly composed, the Duke of *Salisbury*, left *London*, and went to *York*, but *Warwick*, in regard of his Charge of *Calice*, remained still at *London* ; and, one day, whilst he was sitting in

in Council ; one of the King's Servants having given some affront to one of his Men, a Quarrel arose thereupon, wherein *Warwick's* Man wounded the other, and then fled to Sanctuary : But the Guard, and others of the King's Servants, being intent upon revenging the supposed injury, they reflected upon his Master, and Assaulting him, as he went from the Council to take Water, they had certainly slain him, had he not leaped into a Boat and recovered the City. Whereupon, the Queen, either through malice or misinformation, laid hold of the pretence to bereave him of his life, commanding him to be detained (and if he had been so, he had been for ever lost) but being secretly advertised of it, he posted immediately to *Tork*, and brought the first news of it himself to the Duke and his Father ; and having advised with them what was best to be done, they advised him to go immediately to *Calice*, and secure that Town : Which *Henry* might easily have prevented, and thereby have left them no place of safety to retreat to, had he not been blinded by his impending Fate. As soon as *Warwick* was gone, *Tork* sent *Salisbury* to *London*, with such Troops as he could get together, to complain of the violated Faith,

Faith, and demand satisfaction for the injury done to *Warwick*; to the end, that if it were denied, as they supposed it would, their actions might thereby appear the more Justifiable: Whilst he, in the mean time, assembled a good Army, wherewith he promised to follow him.

The Queen, being advertised of *Salisbury's* March, commanded the Lord *Andley*, through whose Territories he was to pass, to give him Battel; who thereupon, met him near *Drayton* in *Shropshire*: *Suffolk*, seeing his March opposed, resolved to fight. And the two Armies being divided only by a small River, in the morning early, by break of day, he commanded his Bow-men to shoot into *Andley's* Camp, and at the same time Retreat, that so being provoked by the Arrows, and encouraged by his seeming flight, he might be allured to pass the River; which device succeeded according to his wish, for *Andley* enraged by the Arrows, and being desirous to execute the Queens Command, of taking him alive or dead, immediately passed the River, with the Vanguard of his Army, to stay his supposed flight: Which being the thing the Earl aimed at in his Retreat, he immediately turned about and furiously Assaulted him, and having

having slain the Baron, and two thousand four hundred of his Soldiers, he obtained a compleat Victory, which heightned *York's* Credit, and procured him abundance of Followers.

The Duke, being advertis'd thereof by the Earl, writ thereof to *Calice*; whereupon *Warwick* came thence, and brought with him a good Troop of old Soldiers, commanded by *Trollop* and *Blunt*, without acquainting them what it was he designed them for: The two Armies meet near *Ludlow*, upon the Confines of *Wales*. But when *Trollop* and *Blunt* saw that they were led to fight against their own Sovereign, from whom they received their Commission, and by whom they were paid, they fled to the King's Camp, and acquainted him with the Duke's intention of giving Battel the next morning; which so discouraged *York*, that he fled into *Wales*, and from thence into *Ireland*, with his second Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, and his eldest Son, the Earl of *March*, accompanied with *Salisbury*, and *Warwick* went to *Calice*. The King pardoned all that staid, except some few whom he punished for example sake. He sack'd the Town and Castle of *Ludlow*, detained the Dutcheß of *York* and her Sister, the Dutcheß of  
*Bucking-*

*Buckingham*, Prisoners; and having, by Act of Parliament, declared those, who were fled, to be Rebels and Traytors to himself, and Enemies to the Kingdom, he forbid their return, and seized their Estates, and disposed of their Commands, giving the Wardenhip of the *North Marches* to *Northumberland* and *Clifford*, and the Command of *Calice* to *Somerset*: Which was a thing of that consequence, that had it been done before, it would, in all probability, have been a means to have ruined them, and preserved himself, but now it served to no other purpose than only to spur on his hastning destiny. For *Somerset*, believing he should get possession of his Charge, with as much ease as he obtain'd the Grant of it, repaired thither with such Forces as he had in readiness; and having sent to the Garrison, to acquaint them with the Kings Grant, and to shew them his Letters Patents: The Captains, who were all at *Warwick's* Devotion, denied him admittance, and fired their Canon upon him, so that he was forced to retire into *Guines*, hoping by Skirmishes to bring them to obedience. But, in the mean while, his whole Fleet went into the Harbour of *Calice*, and delivered up their Ships, and those that Commanded them,

them, to *Warwick*, who being his Enemies, were immediately Beheaded; by which means, and his continual Skirmishes, the number of his Soldiers were much decreased, whilst those of the Garrison was very much augmented by fresh supplies which resorted to them every day, unsent for: Whereupon, having advertised the King and Queen of the straits he was in, they dispatched away the Lord *Rivers* and Sir *Anthony Woodville* his Son, with four hundred Men, who were forced to stay at *Sandwich* for a Wind, whereof *March* and *Warwick* being informed, they sent thither Sir *John Denham* with a small Company of Soldiers, who were more considerable for their Valour than for their Number. *Denham*, having the Wind as favourable to him as cross to others, arrived there about midnight; when entering the Haven and Town of *Sandwich*, and finding it free from suspicion, and therefore altogether unguarded, he surprised the Lord *Rivers* and his Son in their Beds: And notwithstanding the Soldiers took the Alarm, and made Head, and wounded him, yet he carried them off, Plundered a good part of the Town, and being favoured by the Mariners, made himself Master of the King's best Ships, and



and so returned Triumphant to *Calice*, and presented his Spoil to the Earl of *March*, who sent *Warwick* with the Ships into *Ireland*, to acquaint the Duke with the state of affairs, and know his pleasure; which was, that they should, with all convenient speed, pass over into *England*, promising, to follow himself, with what Forces he could raise.

Hereupon *March* and *Warwick* prepared for *England*, upon notice whereof *Henry* commanded the Sea-Ports to be fortified, thereby to prevent their landing. But there being nothing done at Court, whereof *March* had not notice given by those about the King, Sir *Simon Monfort*, who was ordred by the King to effect it, was no sooner arrived at *Sandwich*, but he sent the Lord *Falconbridge* thither, who took it the second time, and sent *Monfort*, and several other Prisoners, to *Calis*, advising *March* to cross the Seas immediately, and march up to *London*, as to an assured Victory; which Advice being approved of by the three Earls, they caused the Heads of *Montfort*, and twelve more, to be cut off, and, having taken order for the managing the Garrison in their absence, they landed in *Kent*, where they were met by the Lord *Cobham*, with about

4000 Men, which still increased as they marched towards *London*; and being arrived there, *Salisbury*, *Cobham*, and Sir *John Vanlock*, staid there, to secure a place of so much importance; and *March* and *Warwick* marched towards the King, who had gotten a good Army together about *Northampton*, where, being arrived, he offered the King Battel, which being accepted of, each side fought with incredible fierceness; and when their Arrows were spent, they came to handy-blows, for five hours together, with an indifferent fortune: But, at length, the King, having lost 10000 Men, fell into his Enemies hands. The Battel being lost, the Queen, the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Somerset*, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and the Victor returned to *London*, where he inflicted such Punishments upon those of his Adversaries, whom he found in the City, as usually attend the injustice of Civil Wars.

*March*, having advertised his Father of this Victory, immediately repaired to *England*, supposing that all things were now removed out of the way, that could hinder his possession of the Crown. And *March* having called a Parliament, in *Henry's* Name, just at the opening thereof, *Torkentred London*, followed by great Troops

Troops of Men, and having the Trumpets sounding, and the Sword born before him, alighted at the King's Palace, at *Westminster*; and, entring into the House of Peers, he laid his hand upon the Throne, as if he designed thereby to intimate, that he had, by that action, taken possession thereof. Whereat the Lords, being much amazed, sat speechless, for some time; but, at length, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, standing up, asked him, If he would be pleased to go and see the King? Whereupon, changing countenance, he angrily replied, He knew no Man to whom he ow'd that Duty; but on the contrary, every Man ow'd it to him. Whereupon the Arch-bishop went forth, to acquaint the King with his Answer: which *York* seeing, went forth, and entred likewise into the King's Lodgings; where, finding several Doors shut, he caused them to be broken open: And then, returning again to the Parliament, he sat down, on the King's Throne, under the Cloth of State, telling them, That it did, of right, belong to him; and that it had been unlawfully usurped, by the three preceding Kings, from the House of *Mortimer*, who was lawful Heir to the Duke of *Clarence*, and from his House of *York*, who

were

were lawful Heirs to *Mortimer*. And that being quite out of hopes of ever enjoying what was his right by fair means, he was forced to make use of violence, not so much in respect to himself, and the restoring the Crown to his Family, as out of respect to the Publick Good, in hope thereby to restore Peace to the Kingdom, which he hoped, by their assistance, to restore to its ancient glory. This Declaration so surpris'd the Lords, that they sat looking on each other, as men struck dumb and bereaved of sense; but some of them having, at length, reassum'd courage enough, to demand of him, If he would not go and see the King? answered, God only excepted, he knew no Superiour. A Crown, which hung for ornament, in the middle of the Room where the Commons met, and another on the top of *Devon-Castle*, fell down at that instant, which was thought to be an ill Omen to *Henry*.

The Parliament, after many Debates, concluded the difference, by Enacting, That although since the Crown did of right belong to *York*, yet, to avoid the Inconveniencies which might attend the Deposing of *Henry*, after he had been King for Thirty eight Years and upwards, *York* should consent, that he should enjoy the Crown, during his own Life, and that,

when he died, *York*, or his next Heir, should succeed him.

The next day after this, being *All-Saints*, the King, in his Royal Robes, and the Crown on his Head, went in Procession to *St. Paul's*, accompanied with the Duke, who being proclaimed next Heir, and Protector of the Kingdom, desired *Henry*, for the better securing the new made Peace, and prevent future Jealousies, to send for the Queen, and his Son, Prince *Edward*, which he did; but she refusing to come, and having gotten together a good Army, to endeavor the nullifying of all things which had been done, in prejudice of her Son, the Duke resolved to prevent her, and reduce her by force; in order whereunto, he committed the Custody of the King, and the City of *London*, to *Norfolk* and *Warwick*, and sent his Son, the Earl of *March*, into the *West*, to raise Men, wherewith he was to follow him with all imaginable Speed himself, and *Salisbury* went to *Sandals*, a Castle of his near *Wakefield*, where he got together about Five Thousand Men; he intended to stay for the coming of his Son, with his *Western Army*: But the Queen, hearing of it, resolved to meet him before they should have joined their Forces together.

To

To which end, being accompanied by Prince Edward, and followed by *Somerset, Exeter, Devonshire, Wiltshire, Clifford*, and almost all the Lords of all the *Northern* parts of *England*, she presented herself before the Castle-Walls; *Salisbury* and Sir *David Hall*, who where the Duke's chief Counsellors, advised him to keep within the Walls, till the coming of the Earl of *March*, since she had brought no Artillery with her wherewith to batter the Walls. But he being more apt to generous and daring, than to discreet, Resolutions, and thinking it a shame that a Woman should keep him shut up within a Wall, a thing which all the Powers of *France*, in his many years War in that Kingdom, were not able to pretend to, he sallied forth, and descended into the Fields beneath the Castle, which was built upon a pleasant Hill, to confront her; but the Martial Queen, having divided her Army into three parts, and laid two of them in Ambush, on two sides of the Hill, which were commanded by *Wiltshire* and *Clifford*, with the third, wherein was *Somerset* and *Exeter*, she met him in the Plain, and gave him Battel; which was no sooner began, but the Duke was invironed on all sides, and in less than half an

H hour,

hour, overthrown and slain, together with  
 2800 of his Men; and *Salisbury*, being  
 wounded and taken Prisoner, was, with  
 several others, beheaded at *Pomfret*. *Ro-*  
*bert*, who was Chaplain to the Duke, and  
 Tutor to his Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, a  
 Child of about Twelve Years of Age,  
 seeing the Duke's ill Success, indeavored  
 to escape with his Charge, but being ob-  
 served by *Clifford*, he caused him to be  
 staid, and seeing the Lad to be Nobly  
 attired, he demanded, with his Sword in  
 his hand, Who he was? To which Que-  
 stion the unfortunate Youth, who was  
 struck dumb with fear, returned no An-  
 swer; but with hands lifted up, and a  
 submissive countenance, did tacitly beg  
 for Mercy and Pardon. But having learn-  
 ed who he was, from his Tutor, who  
 thought, by naming him, to have saved  
 his Life, he presently stabbed him to  
 the heart, and then, returning to the  
 Duke, he cut off his Head, and having,  
 in derision, crowned it with a Crown  
 of Paper, he presented it to the Queen  
 on the point of a Lance, who caused it,  
 together with the Heads of those who  
 were executed at *Pomfret*, to be set on  
 the Gates of *York*, where they remained  
 till the Earl of *March* wrested the Victory  
 out of her hands.<sup>1</sup>

The



The Earl of *March*, who was now, by the death of his Father, become Duke of *York*, received the News at *Glocester*, but being comforted by the Citizens, and those who lived along the River *Severn*, who being infinitely affectionate to the House of *Mortimer*, of which he was the Heir, promised to spend their Lives in his Quarrel, he thought more of Revenge than Mourning. But being informed, when he was just ready to set forward with an Army of 23000 fighting Men, that the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltshire*, and *Owen Tudor*, who married King *Henry's* Mother, after the death of her first Husband, *Henry* the Fifth, was joined together to surprise him, and concluding it was no way safe to leave such potent Enemies behind him, he resolved to defeat them first, before he advanced towards the *North*, and meeting them, not far from *Hereford*, he gave them Battel, and having slain 3800 of their Men, and *Owen Tudor* prisoner, whom he beheaded, he gave them a total overthrow. In the mean while, the Queen, with an Army of *Irish*, *Scots*, and People of the *Northern* parts of *England*, advanced towards *London* to set the King at liberty, and undo all that had, by the Duke of *York's* Authority, been acted in

the preceding Parliament ; but the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom the Custody of the King and the City was committed, having raised an Army, met her at Saint *Albans*, and forgetting that the King's Presence was always unfortunate, they carried him thither likewise, where, notwithstanding they fought with all imaginable Valour and Resolution, the Queen obtained the Victory, and recovered the King : But the news of *Pembroke* and *Ormond's* overthrow, and that the Earl of *March* was making towards her with a great Army, and that *Warwick*, with the Forces that were escaped, met and joyned with him, made her retire back into the North, having first caused the Lord *Bonnauesle*, and Sir *Thomas Terril*, who might have escaped with the rest, if *Henry* had not promised them safety, to be Beheaded.

The Duke of *York*, being advertised of her Retreat, did not pursue her presently, but chose rather to March directly to *London*, and secure that ; where he was received with an Universal Joy, not only because the greatness of his Actions, and the sweetness of his Temper, had rendred him amiable and desirable to them, but also, because they looked upon those  
strange

strange People, whereof the Queens Army was composed, to be their Engmies, and to design the Plundering of the City: From which design, they hoped to be defended by his Victorious Arms: When he arrived at *London*, he caused a great Council, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Chief of the Commons, to be Assembled; wherein, having declared his pretences to the Crown, and the late Agreement made between *Henry* and the Duke of *York*, his Father, he desired, That since *Henry* had broken that Agreement, he might be Declared, not to injoy any longer Right thereby to the Crown, and that He might be substituted in his Place, according to the Agreement. The Assembly, having considered of what he had said, and adjudging the Title of the House of *York* to be Legal and Just, Declared, That *Henry* having violated the Oath, and broken the Accord, made by Authority of the last Parliament, he had thereby rendred himself unworthy of the Crown: And that instead of him, Edward Earl of March, the Son and Heir of Richard Duke of York, ought to be acknowledged King. Which Declaration being joyfully received by the People, he went, the next day, to Saint Pauls, where, *Te Deum* being sung, he made the

Offerings which Kings used to make, and then was Proclaimed King, by the Name of *Henry the Fourth*; and was, in the following *June*, Crowned at *Westminster*, so that there were, now, two Kings in *England*.

The Queen, in the mean while, was busied in raising of Forces; with which, and some Aids she procured from *France*, she advanced towards *London*: But being overthrown by *Ogle*, whom *Edward* sent against her, she fled into *Scotland*. From whence, with some Assistance she procured there, she returned into *Northumberland*, took *Bambridge* Castle; and passing forward toward the Bishoprick of *Durham*, abundance of People flock'd to her daily, so that her Army was very much increased: But, *Edward* meeting her at *Hegley Moor*, after a great slaughter of her Men, forc'd her to retire further North. And, shortly after, in another Battel at *Hexam*, he gave her a second overthrow, wherein King *Henry* himself had like to have been taken, but escaping with much difficulty, he fled into *Scotland*; from whence, returning soon after into *England*, in a Disguise, he was betrayed, as he sate at Dinner in *Waddington-Hall*, and conveyed to *London*, with his Legs bound

bound to the Stirrups, where, as soon as he was arrived, he was Arrested by the Earl of *Warwick*, and Committed to the Tower.

*Edward*, thinking himself now at leisure to Marry, sent *Warwick* to Treat with the Duke of *Savoy*, about a Match with his Daughter: But, whilst *Warwick* was managing the Treaty with the Duke, he advanced to the Royal Bed the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, one of his own Subjects, and the Relict of his Mortal Enemy, Sir *John Grey*, slain at the Battel of Saint *Albans*, on King *Henry's* side. This Lady waiting on the King to sue for the restoring her Joynture, which was, with the rest of her Husbands Estate, seized into the King's hands; he was so taken with her Charming Beauty, that he presently became a Sniter to her for a Nights Lodging, promising to Grant her more than she Requested, and urged her with much importunity to consent: She modestly replied, That although she was not so vain, in regard of the meanness of her Birth, to imagine her self a Person fit to be advanced to the Honor and Dignity of his Queen, yet she accounted her self too good to be his Whore. With which answer, the King being exceedingly pleased, raised her, from the

Degree of an inferior Subject, to be his Royal Consort, causing her to be Crowned at *Westminster*, and Celebrating the Ceremony of her Coronation, with all imaginable Solemnity and Splendor. Whereat *Warwick*, at his return, was so enraged, that he presently withdrew his affections from *Edward*, and resolved to revenge the slight, which he supposed to be thereby put both upon himself and the Duke of *Savoy*, by Deposing *Edward*, and placing *Henry* on the Throne again. And finding that *George* Duke of *Clarence*, second Son to *Richard* Duke of *York*, was likewise offended with him for Marrying the Lady *Grey*, and promoting her Relations, he drew him likewise into the Conspiracy against his Brother. And having, by his Agents, stirred up the People, in the Northern parts of *England*, to Rebel against *Edward*; about fifteen thousand of them got together under one *Huldren* at first, but he being slain, Sir *John Coniers* undertook the Leading of them: Who, Marching with them toward *London*, Proclaimed King *Edward* to be an Usurper. *Edward*, in the mean time, was not idle; but having got together what Forces he had in readiness, he sent them under the Command of *Pembroke*, who met them near  
*Banbury*,

*Banbury*, where he had given them a total Rout, had not one *Clapham*, a Servant of *Warwick's*, prevented it by a stratagem: Who, seeing the day like to be lost, suddenly displayed his Colours, wherein was the white Bear, which was *Warwick's* Cognizance, and cried, a *Warwick*, a *Warwick*. Whereat, *Pembroke's* Army, being most of them *Welsh-men*, fearing that *Warwick* had been come indeed, were so terrified, that they immediately betook themselves to Flight, leaving their General, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Brother, in the Field; who, fighting valiantly, were incompassed and taken, and carried to *Banbury*, where, with Sir *Richard Herbert*, and eleven more, they were Beheaded, one *Green* and *Clapham* being their Judges.

From hence they Marched to the King's Mannor of *Grafton*, where the Lord *Rivers*, who was Father to the Queen, and High Constable of *England*, then lay; and having suddenly surpris'd him and his Son *John*, they carried them to *Northampton*, and there struck off their Heads. *Edward*, having prepared a mighty Army, marched towards them; they having, by this time, gotten *Warwick* among them, and meeting them at *Wolney*, incampt himself not far from them, both sides prepara-



ring themselves for Battel. But, in the conclusion, a Treaty of Peace being agreed on, and *Edward*, thereupon thinking himself secure, was out-witted by Politick *Warwick*, who surpris'd him, about the dead time of the night, and hurried him away, first to *Warwick* Castle, and from thence, conveyed him, by night, to *Middleham*-Castle, in *Yorkshire*, where he Committed him to the Custody of his Brother, *George Nevil*, Arch-Bishop of *York*: Who, after a little time, granted him Liberty to ride a Hunting in the Parks and Forrests adjacent. But *Edward* stretching the Bishop's Commission, and making bold, one day, as he was a Hunting, to go beyond his appointed Bounds, very fairly rid away and made his escape; whereat *Warwick*, when he heard of it, stormed extreamly: But seeing there was no remedy, he gave out, that himself had ordered his being permitted to escape. He procured likewise a Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*, where thirty thousand Men being gotten together, under the Command of Sir *Robert Wells*, an expert and valiant Commander, they Plundered King *Edward's* friends, and, in every place, Proclaimed King *Henry*: And meeting with *Edward's* Forces, set upon them without staying for the coming  
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of *Warwick*, where was performed a most cruel and bloody Fight, each side strenuously striving for Victory; but, at length, Sir *Robert* being taken, the fortune of the Day fell to King *Edward's* Army: For the *Lincolnshire* Men, so soon as they saw their General taken Prisoner, threw down their Arms, cast off their upper Garments, and betook themselves to their Heels, which was the reason why that Fight was ever after called, the Battel of *Off-Coat-Fields*. Upon this defeat, *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, fled into *France*, with intent to take Sanctuary at *Calice*; but the Lord *Fawcetar*, whom *Warwick* had substituted his Deputy there, denied them entrance, and bid them defiance with his great Guns: For which supposed good Service, he was himself advanced, by King *Edward*, to be Governour of the Garrison. But, so soon as ever *Warwick* had gotten Aid from *France*, he discovered himself to be for him, having denied him entrance into the Garrison, only because he feared he would not be safe there, and that he might render himself the more serviceable to his interest. From *Calice* they went to *Paris*, where they were well received by King *Lewis*, and furnished with what Forces they desired; wherewith, Landing at *Dartmouth*,

*Dartmouth*, they marched towards *London*, Proclaiming King *Henry*, and injoyning all, from sixteen to sixty, upon great Penalty, to take up Arms against the Usurper, *Edward Duke of York*: And it is almost incredible, what vast numbers, of Armed Men, flock'd to him, from all Parts, to maintain *Henry's* right to the Crown, who, but just before, had applauded, and cried up none but King *Edward*. The Bastard *Faulconbridge* in the West, and the Earl of *Pembrook* in *Wales*, likewise Proclaimed King *Henry*; and the Lord *Mountague*, having raised six thousand Men for *Edward*, and brought them as far as *Nottingham*, drew them back again, and carried them over to the Enemy, upon pretence, that *Edward* was ungrateful to his Friends: So that, now, all Men cried out, a King *Henry*, a King *Henry*, a *Warwick*, a *Warwick*. And indeed, this Design, of restoring *Henry* to the Throne, obtained such an Universal Approbation, and was so unanimously Prosecuted, that *Edward* thought it the safest course to fly beyond Sea, to his Cousin, the Duke of *Burgundy*. His Queen stole out of the Tower, and took Sanctuary in *Westminster*, where she was Delivered of a Son, which was, without all Pomp, Baptised by the

the name of *Edward*, whose *Exit* was as obscure as his Birth, and much more Tragical: Most of the Sanctuaries, in *England*, being likewise filled with his Friends. And hereupon, the *Kentish* Men took the opportunity to do much harm in the Suburbs, and some in the City of *London*; and had done much more, had not the Earl of *Warwick* prevented it by his coming, which very much increased his Fame, which was great enough before.

The Earl, having freed the City from the fear of being Pillaged, entred the Tower, where *Henry* had been detained, as a Prisoner, almost nine years; and having brought him out from thence, restored to him the Title of King, and conveyed him, forthwith, through *London*, to the Bishop's Palace, where a Pompous and Splendid Court was, from that time, which was *October* the sixth, 'till the thirteenth of the said Month, when he Crowned him again, and caused him to go Crowned to Saint *Pauls*, himself bearing his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* the Sword, the crowding Spectators, as he passed along the Streets, crying, God save King *Henry*. And in a Parliament, which began the twenty sixth of *November*, *Edward* was declared a Traytor to his Country,

try, and an Usurper of the Crown, and had all his Goods Confiscated, and the like Judgment passed against his partakers, and the Earl of *Worcester* was adjudged to lose his Head. All the Statutes likewise, made by *Edward*, were annulled, and the Crowns of *England* and *France* Entail'd to *Henry*, and his Heirs Male; and, for want of such, to the Duke of *Clarence*: And *Warwick* was made Governour of the Kingdom. But, whilst these things were doing in *England*, *Edward* was making Preparations in *Burgundy* to undo them again. And, having received Aids from the Duke, and and promises of more in *England*, he Land-  
ed at *Ravensthorpe* in *Yorkshire*, pretending to lay aside his pretences to the Crown, but only claim his Right as a private Man; upon which Protestation he was received into the City of *York*: But having gotten Possession of *York*, and increased his Army, he Marched, in an Hostile manner, till he came to *Warwick*, where the Duke of *Clarence*, who now turned his back upon *Henry* and *Warwick*, brought in to his assistance four thousand Men; and, having reconciled himself to his Brother, intended to bring over *Warwick* likewise, who was then at *Warwick* Castle. But he, disdaining the Message, bid the Messengers

go tell the Duke, from him, *That he had rather be an Earl, and always like himself, than a wavering and a perjured Duke; and that before he would falsifie his Oath, as the Duke had done, he would lay down his Life at his Enemies feet, which he doubted not but would be bought very dear.* Which resolute Answer made *Edward* the more wary, and hasten immediately to *London*, to secure that: And finding the Gates, as soon as he came there, thrown open to him, peaceable *Henry* once more became his Prisoner. And, having drawn out his Forces to meet *Warwick*, who advanced likewise towards *London*, he took the Captive King with him.

Upon *Gladnor-Heath*, near *Barnet*, on *Easter-day* in the Morning, the two Armies met, and joined Battel; the Victory, at first, inclined to *Warwick*, but, at length, the thickness of the Air occasioning the Stars, worn by the Earl of *Oxford's* Men, who was in the left Wing of the Battel, to be mistaken for the Sun, which the *Yorkists* wore, lost Him, and obtained *Edward*, the Victory. For, upon that mistake, *Warwick's* Battalion let fly at *Oxford's*, when they were in a very fair way of gaining the Victory; and *Oxford*, being ignorant of the mistake, and judging him-

himself betrayed, immediately left the Field, and carried off about a Thousand Men with him. Whereupon *Warwick*, being enraged, animated his Men, and, with the best of his Soldiers, rushed, with abundance of fury, into the midst of his Enemies Camp, so far, that he could not be rescued, but was there slain; and so was his Brother, the Lord *Mountague*, in endeavouring to rescue him. On *Edward's* part, died the Lord *Crommel*, the Lord *Bourchier*, Lord *Barnes*, and Sir *John Lesle*. Of both sides about Ten Thousand were slain. And shortly after this, was the last Battel fought between King *Edward* and the undaunted Queen *Margaret*, at *Tewksbury*; wherein was slain, on the Queen's side, *John*, Lord *Somerset*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, Sir *John Devils*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *John Lewkner*, with three hundred others, and the rest put to flight; among whom was *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, the only Son of King *Henry*, who being overtaken by Sir *Richard Crofts*, he brought him back again, and presented him to the King; who, after having for some time beheld him with an austere countenance, demanded of him, *How he durst, with Banner display'd, disturb the*  
*Peace*



*Peace of this Kingdom?* To which the Prince bravely answered, *That what he did, was to recover his Father's Kingdom, and his own most rightful Inheritance: And therefore how durst thou, who art his Subject, display thy Colours against him, who is thy Sovereign?* At which Answer *Edward* was so enraged, that he dashed the Prince on the Mouth with his Gauntlet; and thereupon *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*, assisted by some of the King's Servants, shamelessly murdered him at the King's feet.

The Duke of *Somerfet*, the Prior of *St. Johns*, and many Knights and Gentlemen, were forceably taken out of Sanctuary, and executed at *Tewksbury*. And the unfortunate Queen having, upon this fatal Loss, got into a Religious House, was taken out thence, and committed to safe Custody; in which Restraint she remained, till ransomed by her Father. *Edward*, having now put an end to the difference between himself and *Henry*, returned victorious to *London*, and, within a few days after, Crook-back'd *Richard* stabbed innocent *Henry* to the Heart. And his murdered Body, being put into an open Coffin, and carried first to *St. Paul's*, and then to *Blackfryers-Church*, and exposed to publick view, thereby to prevent any

any from attempting his deliverance, his Body was afterwards buried at *Chertsey* in *Surry*; but was removed, by *Henry* the Seventh, to the Chappel of *Windsor*. And, in the Year 1474, the Duke of *Clarence* was, by the procurement of his Crook-back'd Brother, condemned for Treason, and, after he had offered his Mass-Money in the *Tower*, was downed in a Butt of *Malmsey*.

In the Year 1483, King *Edward* falling into a dangerous and deadly sickness, he caused the Lords to be called into his presence, and raising his sick body on the Pillow, he begged of them, for the Love they had ever born to him, and the Love that our Lord bore to them all, that from thence forward they would forget all former Injuries, and love each other, since the Glory of God, the Honour of their King, the Good of their Kindred, the Welfare of their Country, and the Safety of their Persons depended upon it. And, having said this, he departed this Life, *April* the Ninth, and was buried in the New Chappel at *Windsor*, whose Foundations himself had laid: He left two Sons, *Edward* and *Richard*.

*Edward* being dead, his eldest Son succeeded him, by the Name of King *Edward*  
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the Fifth, being about Twelve Years of age, and was therefore committed to the Government of his Uncle, the Lord Rivers, and some others of the Queen's friends, which was laid hold on by the Duke of Gloucester, his Crook-back'd Uncle, as a means whereby to effect his design of snatching the Crown from his Head, and placing it on his own; which design of his had been projected by him even in the time of his Brother's life, as appears from severall passages that happened afterwards; and particularly, one *Mistelbrooke* going, before day, to speak with one *Potior*, a Servant of Gloucesters, so soon as he came to his Presence he acquainted him, that King *Edward* died the Evening before; to which *Potior* replied, *By my truth, if it be so, my Master, the Duke of Gloucester, will now be King, and that you will see, ere long, I'll warrant you.* Wherefore, as soon as he heard of the King's death, he repaired towards *London*, being then in the North. And *Henry*, Duke of *Buckingham*, sent one *Perfival*, a Servant of his, to meet him at *York*, where he kept the King his Brother's Funeral, who, desiring to speak with the Duke in private, told him, *That the Duke of Buckingham, his Master, would, in this new Scene of Affairs, take*  
*such*

such part and interest as he should direct him, and would, if he thought fit, wait upon him with a Thousand Men. The Duke, having received this Message, returned the Messenger with great Thanks and secret Instructions to his Master ; who, thereupon, went, attended with Three Hundred Horse, to meet the Duke at *Northampton*, and from thence went with him to *London*, and never left him till he saw him Crowned.

So soon as they came to *London*, *Glocester* represented the Queen's friends, who were about the King, to be Enemies to the ancient Nobility, and Persons who would, under pretence of the King's Authority, endeavour to effect their ruin; by which means he drew in the Lord *Hastings*, and several other Noblemen, who always hated them, to join with him in endeavouring to destroy them. And, being informed, that the Lords about the King were about to bring him up from *Ludlow*, where he resided at the time of his Father's death, with a strong Guard, in order to his Coronation, he procured some to insinuate to the Queen, that it would be very prejudicial, both to her and the King, to bring him up to his Coronation with a great Guard, lest the Lords of her

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Kindred should thereby give occasion, to the Lords of the contrary Faction, to suspect, that it was not done so much out of respect to the King's safety, whom no man opposed, as with a design of ruining the ancient Nobility, in revenge of their former Quarrels, and so put them upon raising Men also for their defence, and thereby bring all the Nation into an uproar. By these specious Pretences the Queen was (altho' a subtile Woman) so far over-reached, that she instantly sent to the King and her Brother, to inform them, that she thought there was no occasion to assemble people together to bring the King to his Coronation, and that therefore it were much better to let it alone. And, at the same time, *Glocester* himself, and, by his procurement, all the Lords of his Party writ with so much reverence and veneration to the King, and love and friendship to the Queens friends that were about him, that they became altogether without suspicion. By which means, and the Queen's desire, they set forwards, with the King, without those Guards they had designed to have raised.

*Glocester*, having succeeded well in his designs hitherto, went with *Buckingham*, and  
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the other Lords of his party, to meet the King; but when they met him at *Stony-Stratford*, finding that the Lord *Rivers* was not there, they passed on to *Northampton*, pretending that *Stony-Stratford* was so filled with the King's Train, that there was no room for them: They carried themselves very friendly to the Earl that Night, but in the Morning early, having first caused the Doors of the Inn to be locked, and the Keys to be delivered into their own hands, and gotten all their Servants in readiness, before any of the Earls were awake, or knew any thing of the matter, they seized his Person, and made him their Prisoner, upon pretence, that he went about to set the King against them. Having effected this, they posted away to *Stony-Stratford*, and arriving there, just when the King was going to Horseback, they saluted him on their bended knees, and he received him as graciously, knowing nothing of what they had done. But so soon as they were mounted again, the Duke of *Buckingham* said aloud, *On afore, Gentlemen, and, Teomen, keep your places*; and therewith pick'd a Quarrel with the Lord *Richard Grey*, the Queen's Son, and half Brother to the King, saying, *That he, the Marquess, his Brother, and their*  
Uncle,

Uncle, the Lord Rivers, had taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom, and indeavoured to abuse the King's Power and Name, to destroy those of the Royal Blood, &c. The King told them, they had been misinformed, for he was certain there was nothing of truth in their Charge. *My Liege*, said Buckingham, *we do believe, that they have kept the knowledge of their designs from your good Grace, but yet they have secretly carried on such a design.* And thereupon they arrested him, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawle, in the King's presence, and carried the King, and all his Train back to Northampton, and there displaced and placed his Servants as they pleased; whereat the poor young King wept, but that availed him nothing. And having made this alteration among the King's Servants, and sent the Prisoners to several Prisons in the North, they conveyed the King to London, with abundance of seeming reverence.

The Queen, being by this time informed how things went, was extreamly confounded, and cursed her own credulity, in being so easily persuaded to advise the bringing up the King with his ordinary Guards. Several of the Nobles met together to consult what was to be done in that



that case ; but their Fears and Jealousies being removed by the Lord *Hastings*, of whose Loyalty to the King no man doubted, they broke up, without coming to any Conclusion.

Soon after *Glocester* brought the King to *London*, and lodged him in the Bishops Palace, where a great Council was held, in which all the Lords were sworn to *Edward*, and *Glocester* was chosen Protector of the King and Kingdom ; who thereupon, to the end that he might finish his designed Project at once, resolved to get his Brother, the D. of *York*, into his hands likewise, pretending that he only was a fit Associate for the King, in regard both of his Age and Quality. The Arch-Bishop of *York* was thought the fittest person to persuade the Queen to deliver him, declaring that it was his opinion, that if she would not be persuaded to deliver him, they ought to take him out of Sanctuary by force. The Arch-Bishop undertook the business, altho' somewhat unwillingly, but the Queen, suspecting *Glocester's* mischievous design, pleaded his Infancy, his being very subject to Sickness, &c. as Reasons why she could not part with him, in regard none knew so well how to order him as her self, who had been always with him,

him, nor was it likely that any would be so tender of him as the Mother that bore him. But yet, when she understood that Gloucester would fetch him out by force, if she persisted in her refusal, she consented to deliver him to the Arch-bishop and the Lords that were with him, telling them, that she delivered both him and his Brother to their Faithfulness and Care, and that of them she would demand them both before God. And then, taking her leave of the Child, she said, *My dear Babe, let me kiss thee once, before thou goest from me, for I am afraid I shall never kiss thee more.* And then she Blessed him, saying, *Farewell my own sweet Son, God send thee good keeping;* and so went away from them weeping. The Lords having received the Duke, who wept as fast as his Mother, they carried him to the Protector, who received him with abundance of joy, and taking him into his Arms, gave him a traiterous kiss. And having now effected his desire, and gotten them both into his own hands, altho' he was their Uncle by Nature, their Protector by Office, infinitely obliged to their Father, in point of gratitude, for advancing of him, and to them by Oaths and Allegiance, yet he contrived, with the rest of his Accomplices, to bereave not

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only the King of his Crown, and the Duke of his Dukedom, but both of their lives, with as much speed as might consist with his own safety; and that he might effect it with the less suspicion, he caused all the Lords, which he knew to be faithful to the King, to assemble at *Baynard's-Castle*, to consult together about his Coronation, whilst himself and his Confidants met at *Crosbies Palace*, to contrive the contrary; to which Council he admitted very few, and they very secret and inward Friends, one of them being *Catesby*, a Creature of the Lord *Hastings*. The more intelligent of the King's friends began to suspect the truth, and the Lord *Stanly*, who was afterwards Earl of *Derby*, told the Lord *Hastings*, that he did not like those two separate Councils, for whilst we talk of the Kings Coronation at one place, who knows what 'tis they are consulting at the other. To which *Hastings* replied, *My Lord*, never doubt it, for you may assure your self, that while one Man is amongst them, who hath never been from them, there can be nothing spoken, to my prejudice, but it will be brought to me as soon as it is spoken by them, meaning *Catesby*. But he lost himself and the King both, by his overmuch confidence in the supposed Faithfulness of that

ungrate-

ungrateful and perfidious man, who, to ingratiate himself with *Crook-Back*, and procure from him the Lord *Hastings's* Command, he did, upon his desire, try, by words cast out at a distance, if there were any possibility of winning the Lord *Hastings* to their designs. And finding there was not, he told the Protector, *That he found him so tight to Edward's interest, that he durst move him no further.* Whereupon the Protector removed the Council from *Baynard's-Castle* to the *Tower*, where the business of ordering the Coronation (for the solemnity whereof, Pageants were making night and day at *Westminster*, and Provisions killed) was seriously debated. About Nine of the Clock came the Protector, saluting them courteously, and excusing himself for coming so late; and turning to the Bishop of *Ely*, *My Lord*, said he, *you have very good Strawberries at your House in Holborn, I wish we had a Mess of them. That you shall have, my Lord, immediately,* said the Bishop; which being fetched and eaten, and he having ingaged the Lords in discourse, he departed; but, about Eleven, returned again, knitting his Brows, and gnawing his Lips; in which posture he sat down in his place, to the astonishment of all the Lords, who very

much wondred at so sudden a change: But, having sat a while, he angrily demanded, *What Punishment they deserved, who imagined his destruction, since he was so near of Blood to the King, and Protector of his Royal Person and Kingdom?* At which Question the Lords were all astonished, musing, within themselves, who he should mean thereby, since every man knew himself innocent. But, at length, the Lord *Hastings*, thinking, that in regard of the familiarity that was between them, he might be the boldest with him, said, *They deserved to be punished as Traitors;* and all the other Lords declared the same thing: *That is then,* said he, *yonder Sorceress, my Brother's Wife.* Which words were very displeasing to all the Lords, except *Hastings*, who, hating the Queen, only disliked that he was not made of the Protectors Council in this Matter, as well as he was in the taking up her Relations, whom he knew were that day to be beheaded at *Pomfret*; but little thought that the same fate, that he had devised for others, was at the same time devised against himself, by those whom he designed to befriend thereby: From whence we may learn, how usual it is with God to suit Mens Punishments to their Crimes. Then the Protector, stretch-

stretching out his left Arm, plucked up his Doublet-sleeve, and shewed them a wasted, withered Arm, saying, *See how that Sorceress, together with Shore's Wife, and others of their Council, have, with Sorcery and Witchcraft, wasted my Body.* Which Speech made every Man's mind to misgive him, for in regard they all knew the Queen to be too wise to ingage her self in so foolish a design, or if not, yet they were certain, that she would never make Shore's Wife of her Council, whom she hated implacably, and that his Arm was never otherwise since the day of his Birth.

*Hastings* having kept *Shore's* Wife, ever since *Edward's* death, and being grieved to hear her joined with the Queen in this Accusation, which he knew to be false, (altho' he was willing to admit it to be true against the Queen) he said, *My Lord, if they have so done, they are worthy to be punished.* Whereat, the Protector storming and frowning, said, *Dost thou serve me with If's and And's, I tell thee, they have done it, and that I will make good on thy Body, Traitor.* And therewith, as in a rage, strook his hand hard on the Table; at which sign, one, whom he had planted for that purpose without the Room, cried, *Treason*: whereupon a Door immediately opened into the Room,

and as many Men, in Arms, came rushing in, as the Chamber would hold. Which done, he said to him, *I Arrest thee, Traitor. What me, my Lord?* said he. *Yes, thou, Traitor,* said he. One of the armed men struck at the Lord *Stanly* likewise, and had cleav'd his Head to his Soulders, had he not shrunk at the blow, and fallen under the Table; for, notwithstanding his being aware of it, yet it reached him so, as to make the Blood run about his Ears. Then was the Arch-bishop of *Tork*, Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Stanly*, and divers others, taken and committed to safe custody in several Chambers, and the Lord *Hastings* commanded to speed and thrive him apace, swearing, by *St. Paul*, *That he would not go to Dinner, 'till he saw his Head off.* Who, seeing that there was no remedy, called for a Priest, and, having made a short Confession, (for he could not be permitted to make a long one) he had his Head chopt off, upon a long piece of Timber that lay in the Tower-Green. But, to put the better colour upon this Barbarous Murther, so soon as he had dined, he sent, in all hast, for several substantial Citizens to come to him in the Tower; and, against their coming, he, and his chief Agent, *Buckingham*,



ham, harnessed themselves in old rusty Armour, as though some sudden and imminent danger had necessitated them thereunto, for their own defence. And, when they came, he told them, *That the Lord Chamberlain, and others of his Conspiracy, contrived to destroy him, and Buckingham, suddenly, that Forenoon, as they sat at Council, and that he had not the least notice of it till Ten of the Clock the same day, and that was the cause why he had caused his Head to be struck off.* And, the better to persuade People into a belief of it, he caused an Herald of Arms to proclaim it throughout the City: And commanded the Sheriff of London to repair to *Jane Shore's House*, and spoil her of all that she had, and afterward procured the Bishop to make her do open Penance, for her former dalliance with King *Edward*. The Queen's Brother and her two Sons were executed at *Pomfret*, about the same hour that *Hastings* was at the Tower.

The persons whom he most feared being thus removed, by death or imprisonment, or else discouraged by what had befallen their fellows, he caused Proclamation to be made, that the Coronation should, for several great and weighty Reasons, be deferred till the Second of the

following *November*, hoping, that by setting the Common People a musing what the matter should be, and by keeping the Lords of the contrary Faction at *London*, remote from their strength, so that they should not know what to think, or whom to trust, he might the more securely carry on his designs, and transport the Crown to his own Head, before men should have time or means to resist. But the mischief on't was, he knew not how to break the Matter to the People, so as it might be well thought of by them, since it was of so hainous a nature. Wherefore he took several other persons, whom he thought he might trust, into his black Council, whereof *Edmond Shaw*, who was at that time Lord Mayor of *London*, was one of them; for, being a man of a proud, aspiring mind, he hoped, by complying with the Protector, and endeavouring to model the City, according to his desire, to advance himself: And he drew in his Brother likewise, Dr. *Ralph Shaw*, whom he procured to break the matter first to the People, in a Sermon at *St. Paul's Cross*, and endeavour, by the Authority of his Preaching, to induce them to approve of the Protector's wicked and ungodly purpose, and accept him for their King. The Pro-

Protector gave him several directions, but the chief was, that he should lay Bastardy to King Edward the Fourth, whereby he accused his own Mother of Adultery, and to the young King and the rest of his Children, because their Father, King Edward, was privately married, as he pretended, to Dame Lucy, before he was to the Queen, and that she was his real Wife, that he might thereby prove, that there was a double disability in any of the Children to inherit the Crown. Which he undertaking, took for his Text, *Spuria vitulammina non dabunt radices altas: Bastard slips shall never take deep root.* And having, from this Text, shewed the Graces and Priviledges which God bestows on and infundeth in right Generation, the genuine Issue of a Matrimonial Contract: And that illegitimate Children, especially those begat in Adultery, seldom ever injoyed those Priviledges, but usually were, for the punishment of their Parents, very unsuccessful and unfortunate in their Lives; and altho' they do sometimes inherit what they are not Heirs to, yet it seldom continues long in their Blood; for the truth being discovered, the Bastard-slips are plucked up before they take deep root. And then, having confirmed his Proposi-

tion by several Examples taken out of Sacred and Civil Stories, he began to set forth the Praises of the Protector, saying, 'He only was the right and legitimate 'Heir of *Richard*, Duke of *York*, *Edward* 'and the Duke of *Clarence* being both of 'them accounted spurious, by those who 'were of privacy in that Family. Besides 'which, King *Edward* was never lawfully 'married to the Queen, but his Wife, before God, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, 'and therefore his Children were Bastards, and so could be no Inheritors of 'the Crown: But the Lord Protector, 'that Brave and Noble Prince, who was a 'Patron of all Knightly Powers, as well 'in all Princely Behaviour, as in the Beauty and Comeliness of his Person, represented the very Face of the Noble Duke 'his Father; He is, said he, his Father's 'own Figure and Image. And now it was agreed, that, at the uttering of these words, the Protector should have come in amongst the People to the Sermon, that so the Words, meeting with his Person, might be taken by the Hearers, as if the Holy Ghost had put them in the Preacher's Mouth, and might thereby have been moved to cry out, King *Richard*; whereby it should be thought that he was chosen by  
God

God himself, as it were by a Miracle. But the Protector delaying his coming, for fear he should come before the Parson came to that part of his Sermon, and the Parson hastening over the rest of his Matter, for fear he should not come to it time enough for it to meet with the Duke's presence, at his first approach, the contrivance was spoiled, and the Duke came too late: But, at length, he and *Buckingham* came, and the Doctor thereupon shamelessly broke off from the Matter he was then speaking of, and, out of all order and method, repeated the villainous harangue, saying, *This is the very Noble Prince who is the especial Patron, &c.* But the People were so far from answering their expectation, and crying out *King Richard*, that they stood like so many lifeless figures of Men. The shameless Sermon being thus unsuccessful, the Preacher went home with an heavy heart; and, in a few days, died of grief.

This Sermon having done them no kindness, they resolved to try another method; wherefore, on the *Tuesday* following, *Buckingham*, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, went to *Guild-Hall*, attended with the Mayor, and sate down at the East end of it, where the *Hustings* is kept, together with

with all the Aldermen: And having all the  
 Commons of the City assembled, and  
 standing before them, after silence com-  
 manded in the Protector's Name, the  
 Duke, who was a Man of much Eloquence,  
 stood up, and told them, ' That, for the  
 ' Zeal and hearty Love they bore to the  
 ' Honourable City of *London*, they were  
 ' come to speak to them, of a matter  
 ' of great weight and concern; which  
 ' would be very advantagious to you, said  
 ' he, pleasing to God, and profitable to  
 ' the whole Kingdom: A thing that you  
 ' have long stood in need of, and greatly  
 ' desired: A thing that you would have  
 ' gone far to fetch, and would have ac-  
 ' counted no Price too great, or Labour  
 ' too hard, that could have obtained. But  
 ' now we bring it, and offer it to you,  
 ' without your exposing your selves to any  
 ' Labour, Charges, Adventure or Danger;  
 ' which thing, is the safety of your Lives,  
 ' the security of your Wives, Daugh-  
 ' ters, and Estates, and the securing you  
 ' the quiet possession of them all: Which,  
 ' you could not promise your selves in the  
 ' time of the late King's Reign, when so  
 ' many Traps and Snares were laid for  
 ' them, and so many Taxes and Tallages  
 ' Imposed, when there was no need, or if  
 ' there

' there were, it proceeded only from Riot  
 ' and unreasonable waste, and not from  
 ' any necessary Honourable Charge. You  
 ' were daily Pillaged, that so unthrifts  
 ' might be enriched with your Wealth, in-  
 ' somuch that Fifteenths, nor, indeed, any  
 ' term of known Taxes sufficed not, but,  
 ' under the easie Names of Benevolence  
 ' and good Will, the Commissioners took  
 ' more of every Man than they were wil-  
 ' ling to give, as though the importance  
 ' of Benevolence and good Will had sig-  
 ' nified so much, that every Man should  
 ' pay, not what he of his own good Will  
 ' pleased to bestow, but what the King, of  
 ' his good Will, list to demand: Where-  
 ' by light things were made heavy, and  
 ' easie things hard, and amercements were  
 ' turned into Fines, and Fines into Treason.  
 ' I suppose, it is altogether needless, that I  
 ' remember you of examples by Name,  
 ' since *Burdell* is so fresh in your memories,  
 ' who was, as you all know, for an innocent  
 ' word, spoken in jest to his Child, and  
 ' saying, he would make him heir to the  
 ' Crown ( meaning his own House, which  
 ' had the Crown for its Sign ) cruelly Be-  
 ' headed: Nor can you have forgotten  
 ' Sir *Thomas Cook*, Alderman and Mayor  
 ' of this Noble City, who was spoiled and  
 ' ruined,



'ruined, only for hapning to favour  
 'some whom the Prince did not. But,  
 'what need I to multiply instances, since,  
 'I am certain, there are many of you, that  
 'are here present, who were great suffer-  
 'ers in your own Persons, or your near  
 'Relations, either by devised Quarrels,  
 'or at least by small Offences, called by  
 'heinous Names, and thereby aggravated  
 'into Capital Crimes. For, the King  
 'coming to the Crown by Battel, it was  
 'Crime enough, in a rich Man, to have  
 'been related to, or had familiarity with  
 'any Man who was, or ever had been, the  
 'King's Enemy, which was, first or last,  
 'more than half the Kingdom; whereby  
 'your Lives, Goods and Estates, together  
 'with your Wives and Children, were in  
 'perpetual Jeopardy: Besides the com-  
 'mon Peril of open War, which is ever  
 'the occasion of much mischief, especially  
 'when the War is between our selves.  
 'And never was a War so fatal, in regard  
 'of its long continuance, and the multitude  
 'of Battels which were fought, and Lives  
 'that were lost therein; as in the King's  
 'days that is dead, whose getting and keep-  
 'ing the Crown, and losing and winning it  
 'again, cost more *English* Blood than was  
 'spent in the twice winning *France*: Besides,  
 'many

' many good Towns ransacked and spoil-  
 ' ed by those who were going to, or re-  
 ' turning from the Field ; and whoever  
 ' got the Victory, you were sure of Peace  
 ' no longer than 'till the other side were  
 ' able to recruit. And when *Edward* had  
 ' at last overcome all his Opposers, and  
 ' freed you from danger that way, yet,  
 ' who was there, among you, that was  
 ' out of peril, upon the account of your  
 ' Riches, or some surmised and groundless  
 ' fear of your Fidelity, or some displea-  
 ' sure taken against you, for imaginary,  
 ' or, at least, but trivial Offences ; for  
 ' whom would he trust or spare, that would  
 ' not trust or spare his own Brother :  
 ' And so great an interest had his Favou-  
 ' rites over him, that all things were ma-  
 ' naged as they pleased ; insomuch, that  
 ' there was more suit made in his days to  
 ' *Shore's* Wife, a base and abominable  
 ' Strumpet, than to all the Lords in *Eng-*  
 ' *land*, except those who made her their  
 ' Protectress : Which simple Woman was  
 ' reputed to be an honest and vertuous  
 ' Wife, 'till the King took her from her  
 ' Husband, who was an honest and sub-  
 ' stantial Man among you, to satisfie his  
 ' Lust and sinful Desires. And, the truth  
 ' is, ( although I am sorry to speak it,  
 ' did

' did I not think it a vain nicety, to keep  
 ' Counsel in that which is known to all  
 ' Men ) the King's greedy desire after Wo-  
 ' men was insatiable; for, to what part  
 ' of the Nation soever he went, he could  
 ' not set his eyes upon any Woman, whom  
 ' he fancied, for Make, Beauty, Speech or  
 ' Gate, but he would, in defiance of the  
 ' fear of God, his own Honour, or his  
 ' Subjects murmur, pursue her with im-  
 ' portunity, 'till he obtained her Consent,  
 ' to the destruction of many good Wo-  
 ' men, and the grief of their Husbands or  
 ' other Relations.

' And, though the Nation was in every  
 ' place oppressed, by these and the like Pra-  
 ' ctices, yet were you more especially sub-  
 ' ject to his Avarice, both because there is,  
 ' among you, more plenty of such things  
 ' as minister matter to such injuries, and  
 ' because you were nearer at hand. Al-  
 ' though you are a People, whom he had  
 ' all imaginable reason to treat well, in re-  
 ' gard *London* is the Metropolis of the  
 ' Kingdom, and, through her means, the  
 ' Prince receiveth great Honour and Fame  
 ' among Foreign Nations; besides which,  
 ' you always, to your great Cost and Dan-  
 ' ger, assisted him in all his Wars: For  
 ' which kindness of yours to the House of

' York,

' York, since he hath but ill requited you,  
 ' there is one of that House, which shall  
 ' now, by Gods Grace, make you full re-  
 ' compence, which is the thing we are  
 ' come to acquaint you with. I hope, I  
 ' need not remember you of what you  
 ' heard on *Sunday* last, from him that can  
 ' better tell it, and of whom, I am sure,  
 ' you will better believe it, for I am not so  
 ' vain to expect you should give as much  
 ' credit to my words, as to the Preachers  
 ' of Gods Word. You know, that after  
 ' he had shewn you, that the Children of  
 ' King *Edward* were Illegitimate, and had  
 ' no right to the Crown, he acquainted you  
 ' with the undoubted Title of the Lord  
 ' Protector; which thing, well consider-  
 ' ed, together with the extraordinary Ver-  
 ' tues that abound in his Royal Person, the  
 ' Nobles and Commons of this Kingdom,  
 ' especially those of the Northern Parts,  
 ' being unwilling that any Bastard Blood  
 ' should any longer Reign over them, and  
 ' exercise the same abuses, their Progeni-  
 ' tors had done before them, have Resol-  
 ' ved to make our Humble Petition to the  
 ' Puissant Prince, the Lord Protector,  
 ' that it may please his Grace, upon our  
 ' Humble Desire, to take upon him the  
 ' Government of this Kingdom, according  
 to

' to his just right & title. I know he will not  
 ' be willing to accept it, in regard he knows  
 ' the difficulty in the well discharging that  
 ' Office, which is not fit to be exercised by a  
 ' Child, and that the Great Wise Man well  
 ' knew, when he said, *Va Regno, cujus Rex*  
 ' *puer est* : Wherefore, we have great rea-  
 ' son to thank God, that this Person, who is  
 ' so righteously intituled thereunto, is of so  
 ' solid an Age, and that he hath so much  
 ' Wisdom joyned to his great Experience.

' But, although he may be loth to take  
 ' the Government upon him, yet, if ye,  
 ' who are the Citizens of the Chief City  
 ' in *England*, will joyn with Us the No-  
 ' bles, in our Request, which we doubt  
 ' not but you will for your own good, yet  
 ' we pray you so to do; and, assure your  
 ' selves, that, in making choice of so good  
 ' a King, you will oblige his Majesty ever  
 ' to bear you the more tender favour:  
 ' And therefore, if you intend to joyn  
 ' your hand with us, then declare it to us.  
 But the People, who were all amazed at  
 the Duke's Discourse, stood still and mute,  
 and answered not a word. At which, the  
 Duke, who expected the People had been  
 before-hand prepared by the Mayor to  
 comply with what he had to say, often  
 whispered to the Mayor, to know the  
 reason

reason of that profound silence; who told them, *That probably it might be, because they did not well understand him; if that be it,* said he, *I shall soon mend that :* And, thereupon, rehearsed much of the matter of what he had said to them in different words, and with a louder voice, but effected no more than before. Whereupon, the Mayor told him, *They had been always used to be spoken to by the Recorder, who was the Mouth of the City, and probably to him they would answer.* Whereupon, the Recorder, who was, at that time, *Sir Thomas Fitz-William,* was desired to speak; but he being a sober honest Man, and but newly come to the Office, and had never spoken to them before, was very unwilling to begin with such an Ungodly & Treasonable business: But, being pressed thereunto, he, at last, made a rehearsal of what the Duke had twice before proposed to them, but he delivered all as the Duke's Words, and no part of it as his own, but it made no alteration on the People. Whereupon, the Duke said to the Mayor, *This is a marvelous obstinate silence;* and therewith, turning to the People again, he said, *Dear Friends, we come to move you to a thing, which peradventure we needed not to have done, since the Lords and Commons, of other*  
*parts,*

parts, might have done it without you, were it not that our Love to you, and our desire of your Good, is such, that we would not willingly do that without, wherein to be Partners, would be every way so advantageous to you, and yet it seems to us as if you regarded it not: Wherefore, we require an Answer what you intend to do, and whether you do desire to have this Noble Prince, the Lord Protector, to be your King? At which words, the People began softly to whisper, to each other, about the matter. Whereupon, some of the Dukes Servants, and others, who depended upon *Buckingham* and *Gloester*, being gotten together, for that purpose, at the lower end of the Hall, cryed out, with a loud Voice, at the Citizens backs, A King *Richard*, God Save King *Richard*, and therewith threw up their Caps for Joy. The Citizens, hear- of it, looked back to see who they were, but said never a word; which, when the Duke and Mayor saw, they made use of it to their advantage, and said, it was a Blessed and Joyful cry, to hear every Man, with one Voice, declaring their unanimous Choice of the Protector to be their King, and no Man saying nay, whereof we shall, said the Duke, make his Grace so well acquainted, that it shall redound much to  
your



your advantage: Wherefore, we desire you to go with us to morrow, and we with you, to make our Humble Request to his Noble Grace, that he would take it upon him.

Accordingly, on the morrow, the Mayor, Aldermen, and the chief of the Commoners, Apparellled after their best manner, resorted to the Protector, at *Baynard's Castle*, whither also repaired *Buckingham*, and many other Persons of Quality, according to Agreement. And when they were met together, *Buckingham* desired the Protector's Pardon, and Licence to acquaint his Grace with the intent of their coming, (as if he had not been acquainted with it before) and having obtained it, he told him, *It was to make their Humble Petition to him, to accept of the Crown and Government of the Realm, according to his Just Right and Title;* at which words, he began to look angerly, and told them, *He could by no means yield therunto.* Whereupon *Buckingham* threatned, *That, if he would not, they would find out some other that would, for they were resolved, that King Edward's Lineage should no longer Reign over them:* Upon which threatning, he was pleased to take the Crown as his Just Right, whereat the People Shouted, and cried, *King Richard, King Richard.* *Richard*

*Richard*, being thus chosen, and shortly after established King by Act of Parliament, took his Seat in the King's-Bench-Court, and pronounced Pardon of all Offences that had been at any time committed against him: And, at the Tower, Created Estates, Ordained the Knights of the Bath, set at liberty the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and the Lord *Stanly*, for fear of his Son, the Lord *Strange*, who was said to be in *Lancashire*, raising of Men; he was likewise made Steward of his Household, but the Bishop of *Ely* was delivered to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his House at *Brecknock*, to be kept in safe Custody. July the sixth he was Crowned at *Westminster*, in greater state than any who had been before him: But knowing, that while his two Nephews lived, the Crown could never stand firm upon his head, he resolved to dispatch them; in order whereunto, taking his way to *Gloucester*, to visit, in his new Honour, the Place from which he derived his former Title, he sent one *Green*, a man whom he thought he might trust, back to Sir *Robert Blackenbury*, Constable of the Tower, with a Letter; wherein he desired him to dispatch the Children before he returned. But *Blackenbury* told the Messenger, He would

would not meddle with so bloody a thing, if he were sure to die for his refusal. Green, having received this Answer, overtook the King at Warwick, in his way to Gloucester, and acquainted him therewith; who was so grieved thereat, that, as he sat easing himself the same Evening, he said to a secret Page of his, *Al! who shall a man trust, since those whom I have brought up, and thought would most surely have served me, have failed me?* Sir, quoth the Page, there lieth one in the Pallet Chamber without, that I am certain will do your Grace's pleasure, meaning *James Tirel*. Whereupon, rising from the place where he sat easing of himself, he went directly to that Chamber, and finding him in Bed, with his Brother, *Sir Thomas Tirel*, he said merrily, *Sirs, be you in Bed so soon?* and desiring *James* to rise, acquainted him with his murtherous Design; who readily undertook it, without any hesitation: Whereupon *Richard* dispatched him the next Morning, with a Letter to *Blackenbury*, wherein he commanded him to deliver the Keys of the Tower to *Tirel* for one Night, to the end that he might there accomplish the King's Pleasure, in such things as he had given him in charge. *Tirel*, having delivered the Letter, and received the Keys, resolved

solved to dispatch them that Night.

Now you must know, that when *Edward* was told, that his Uncle had left the Title of Protector, and taken that of King, he answered, *I would to God my Uncle would let me have my Life, tho' I lose my Kingdom.* To which, he that told him answered, *There was no doubt of it.* But, however, he and his Brother were both shut up, and all their Attendants, except six; two whereof were set to serve them, and the rest to see them kept secure. After which he never tied his Points, nor regarded himself in the least, but, with his Brother, lingred out the short remainder of his Life, in a sorrowful expectation of Death, till *Tirel's* Villany delivered them of that wretchedness. *Tirel*, having contrived that they should be murdered in their Beds, and no blood shed, he sent one *Miles Forest*, who was one of the four that kept them, and *John Dighton*, his own Horse-keeper, into their Chamber, about Midnight, to execute his bloody Contrivance; who, finding them asleep in their Bed, lapped them up in their Bed-clothes, and, by main force and strength, kept down the Feather-bed and Pillows upon them, till they were stifled and gave up their innocent Souls into the hands of him,

from

from whom they received them, and were buried by the Murtherers under the Stairs; by *Richard's* Order they were taken up again, and, being inclosed in Lead, were thrown into a place in the *Thames-mouth*, called the *Black Deep*. So soon as the Murther was over, *Tirel* hastned to the King, and told him all the Circumstances wherewith it was performed: Who gave him great thanks, and made him a Knight. But the Justice of God overtook all that had any hand in this Treasonable Murther; for *Miles Forrest*, at *St. Martins le Grand*, rotted away by piece-meals, and *Dighton* lived afterwards at *Calice*, where he was hated and pointed at by all men, and died miserable; *Tirel* was beheaded, under *Henry the Seventh*, for Treason; and King *Richard* himself was slain in the Field, and his Body being first hacked and mangled by his Enemies, and then disdainfully thrown naked cross a Horse, like a Calf, and carried to *Leicester*, and there as disdainfully buried.

So soon as the Children were murdered, *Richard* caused the report of their Death to be spread abroad, affirming, that they died suddenly, to the end that when all men knew that there was no Heir-Male of King *Edward* left alive, they might the

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more willingly obey him. But there was none who believed any other, but that they were murdered, altho' they knew not the manner how it was done, and, greatly bewailing their untimely death, cried to God for vengeance upon the murderer, especially the Queen and her Friends.

When King *Richard* went to visit *Glocester*, the Duke of *Buckingham* went with him, and, all the time he stayed there, they seemed to be the same intimate friends that they had ever been before; but when the King left *Glocester*, *Buckingham* went not with him, but repaired to his own House at *Brecknock*, having conceived such a displeasure against the King, that he entered, from that time, into a deadly Conspiracy against him; the cause whereof I could not find out, but the most probable story that is alledged for it by Historians, is, the Kings denying to restore him to part of the Duke of *Hartford's* Estate, to which he said he was Heir, together with *Richard's* murdering the Children; for although he was for deposing them from the Crown, yet he would have had them maintained in an honourable state. As soon as he came home therefore he began to discourse with his Prisoner, the Bishop of

of Ely, concerning the State of Affairs, and desired him to speak his mind to him freely ; but the Bishop told him, *He loved not to talk with Princes, in regard it was not very safe so to do, since the words that are spoken, though they be innocent in themselves, yet they may be wrested, and taken in the sense the Prince pleases to construe them in, to the destruction of the speaker.* But, although he was very shy, at the first, to talk with the Duke of State Matters, yet when, by often discourse, and other circumstances, he perceived the Duke to have conceived a perfect and an irreconcilable enmity to the Usurper, he spake his mind freely enough, rendring the Tyrant as odious as possible, and commending him as a person of such rare Vertues, that he merited to wear the Crown himself ; which he begged of him; for God's and his Country's sake, to do, or else to devise some other way to rid the Nation of a Tyrant, and restore it to its former Peace and Tranquillity. To which the Duke, after he had pondered a while upon this discourse, answered, *That although he did at first think to have pretended to the Crown himself, yet, finding he had but a slender Title, and that his Cousin, the Earl of Richmond, had a better than himself, he would therefore prefer*



him; and that he would conclude a Marriage between him, who was the undoubted Heir of the House of Lancaster, and the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to King Edward the Fourth, who was now the only Heir of the House of York, and so put a final end to that fatal difference, which hath been so long maintained between the two Houses. Which contrivance being highly approved of by the Bishop, they first acquainted the Mothers therewith, and imployed divers trusty Messengers to interest the Gentry therein; and then, together with the Countess of Richmond, sent to inform the Earl with their contrivance; who, liking it extreamly, presently prepared for conveying himself into *England*. Which the King hearing of, and knowing *Buckingham* to be the first contriver of the Conspiracy, sent for him to come to Court, because he stood in great need of his Counsel. But the Duke mistrusting his smooth words, sent him word, That he was sickly, and not well able to travel, and therefore humbly desired to be excused. *Richard* therefore sent again, and commanded him to come, threatening him, if he refused. To which Letter, seeing there was no putting him off any longer, he sent this resolute Answer, *That he would*

not

not come to his *Mortal Enemy* : And thereupon immediately prepared to make War against him. Then came *Thomas*, Marquess of *Dorset*, out of Sanctuary, and raised an Army in the North : And Sir *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother, the Bishop of *Exeter*, raised another in *Devonshire* and *Cornwal* : And Sir *Richard Gailford*, and other Gentlemen, another in *Kent* ; all which was done in a moment. But the Usurper marching against *Buckingham*, whose Forces were most of them *Welsh*, they, for want of Pay, and other Provisions, broke up their Camp, and left the Duke to shift for himself ; which, when the rest of the Confederates understood, they likewise dispersed themselves. And the Duke, in disguise, repaired, for security, to a Servant of his, near *Shrewsbury*, whose Name was *Banister* ; who, hearing of a Thousand Pound Reward, promised in a Proclamation by the Usurper, for the taking of the Duke, betrayed him, in hope of obtaining it. And the Duke, being thus taken, was carried from thence, with a great Guard, to *Salisbury* ; and there, without Arraignment or Tryal, lost his Head. However, *Banister* not only lost his promised Reward, but was likewise most remarkably punish'd from Heaven,

for his Treachery to his Master; for his eldest Son ran man, and died in a Hog-sty; his second Son became deformed and lame in his Limbs; his eldest Daughter was struck with a Leprosie; and himself, in his old Age, was found guilty of Murther. Divers of *Richmond's* partakers were at this time put to death, and so jealous was the Usurper of his ill-gotten greatness, that he sored the Sea-coast with armed Men, thereby to prevent the landing of the Earl of *Richmond*. And he called a Parliament, wherein he procured the Earl, and such as had fled the Land in his behalf, to be Attainted, and declared Enemies to their Native Country, and their Goods and Possessions condemned to the King's use. Moreover, he sent his Agents, laden with Gold and large Promises, to the Duke of *Britain*, to persuade him to deliver him up, or commit him to safe custody in *Britain*. Which the Duke not only refused to do, but also assisted him in the Preparations he was making to recover his Kingdom.

Whilst *Richmond* was preparing to invade the Usurper, he indeavoured to make his Title as strong as he could, and devised how he might Marry with the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Brothers Eldest Daughter, but

but his Queen *Ann* stood in the way; however, it was not long e're she was removed out of it by death, which some suspected to be hastned: After which, he Courted this Lady *Elizabeth*, but in vain, for she abhorred the thoughts of being espoused to such a Villanous and Unnatural Tyrant, who had, in so gross a manner, abused her Parents, and murdered her Brethren. However, when the Earl heard of his Attempts therein, and not knowing what time and flattery might do upon the *Princesses* good Nature, he hastned his Preparation, and put to Sea five thousand *Britains*, and forty Ships well furnished; but, before they were got far, the Wind changed, and blew so high, that with the strength of the Storm, his Ships were all dispersed, some of them being driven into *Normandy*, some back again into *Britain*, and that wherein himself was, together with a small Bark which still kept with him, was cast, the next morning, on the Coast of *England*, near the Haven of *Pool*, in *Dorsetshire*: And perceiving that there were Soldiers placed all along the Shore, to prevent his Landing, he charged his Men, that none of them should go on Shore 'till the whole Fleet were arrived. But while he tarried

there for them, he desired to inform himself of a certain, whether those Men, which stood Armed on the Shore, were his Enemies or his Friends; in order whereunto, he sent some to see if they could discover the truth, who were, as soon as they came near the Shore, desired by them to Land, affirming, according to their instructions, that they were, by *Buckingham*, and others of *Richmond's* Friends, ordered to wait for his Arrival, and Conduct him, as soon as he was Landed, to a Place about two or three Miles distant, where the Duke lay incamped, with a numerous Army, to joyn with him in the obtaining his Right: But *Richmond* suspecting the truth, that this was but a pretence to insnare him, Commanded his Men, that none of them should dare to go on Shore 'till the rest of his Fleet was Arrived. But when he had continued there for some time, and saw none of his Ships appear, he directed his Course to *Normandy*, to refresh his Men; and having obtained a safe Conduct from the *French King*, he went from thence to *Britain* by Land, where he met those who were fled out of *England*, and learned from them the Fate of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Richard,

*Richard*, hearing that he was returned to *Britain*, resolved to try, once again, if it were possible to get him detained there; and therefore sent Embassadors to the Duke, who were ordered to offer a large sum of Mony in hand, and a promise, that *Richard* should Yearly pay to the Duke, all the Revenues and Profits arising from the Earl's Estate, and from the Estates of all those Noble-men which were in his Company, if he would commit them to perpetual Imprisonment, And when they, who were employed in this Embassie, arrived in *Britain*, they found the Duke sick, so that they could not Treat with himself; but seeing *Peter Landoyse*, his chief Treasurer, managed and disposed of all things as he pleased, as though he had been Duke, they made their Applications to him, offering him what they should have offered the Duke, if he would be so friendly, as to gratifie their King's Request: Which great offer so blinded the eyes of the covetous Wretch, that *Richmond* had been lost for ever, had not the Bishop of *Ely*, by some Letters which he hapned to see in *Flanders*, where he then resided, discovered it, and immediately sent away *Christopher Urswick*, to advertise him of his danger,

and to fly with all speed into *France*. Whereupon, being very much surprized, he presently sent away some from *Vannes*, where he then sojourned, to desire of the *French King*, that he would Licence him and his Friends to pass into *France*; and having obtained it, he sent all his Noblemen before-hand, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, as if they were only going to visit the Duke, who then lay on the Confines of *France*, for the benefit of the Air, but directed them, when they came at the Marches and Limits of *Britain*, that they should take their next way into *France*, which accordingly they did, riding all the way as swiftly as their Horses Legs were able to move: And two days after, he likewise departed from *Vannes* with five Servants only, that so, who saw him might think he went to visit one or other of his Friends in some adjoining Village; and being gotten about five Miles from the City, he went into a solitary Wood, and there changed Cloaths with one of the meanest of his Servants, whom he made Leader of his small Company, and waited on him as a Page, and then advanced forward on his Journey, never resting or refreshing themselves 'till they were got safe into *France*.



Four days after the Earl's departure from *Vannes*, the Treasurer came thither with a crew of Soldiers (whom he had got together, under pretence of serving the Earl in his passage to *England*) to have seized on him, and finding him gone, he stormed extreamly, and sent after him several Light-Horsemen into all the Roads, and those who took the right, were so near over-taking of him, that he was not entred into *France* above an hour before they came to the Confines: But Duke *Frances* being recovered, and hearing how basely the Earl had been Treated in his Dominions, was extreamly intraged against the Treasurer, and sent into *France* to excuse it to the Earl, and to assure him of his continued Friendship. From *Anjon* he went to King *Charles*'s Court, which was then at *Langes*, where he was kindly received and had large promises made him of great Assistance in his Enterprize. And, while he was there, the Earl of *Oxford*, who was sent to the Castle of *Hammes* by King *Edward*, upon his getting the Crown, and had remained a Prisoner there 'till this time, came to him, together with *James Blunt*, who was Captain of the Castle, and Sir *John Fortescue*, Porter of *Calice*; who were both perswaded by the Earl,

Earl, not only to set him at Liberty, but to forsake their gainful employments, and go with him to the Earl of *Richmond*: *Blunt*, when he left the Castle, in regard he could not take his Wife and Family with him, he Fortified it with new strength. After the *French King* had spent some time at *Langes*, he returned to *Paris*, and *Richmond* followed him thither, soliciting him to hasten the promised Aids; in answer whereunto, he received Answers which very much incouraged and pleased him for the present, but, in the end, he found nothing but *French* performances, which were no way suitable to the necessity of his Condition.

When *Richard* heard that the Castle of *Hamme* was delivered into *Henry's* hands by *Blunt*, he commanded the Governour of *Calice* to reduce it; upon the Report whereof, they within prepared for their Defence, and sent the Earl of *Richmond* word, desiring he would relieve them: Whereupon, the Earl sent a select Company of Soldiers, under the Command of the Earl of *Oxford*, to raise the Siege, who, at his first Arrival, pitch'd his little Camp just by the Besiegers, and, whilst they had a watchful eye upon him, lest he should attempt something against them, he

he sent *Thomas Brandon*, with thirty stout Men, to enter the Castle by a Marsh which lay on the other side of it; which he performed, and thereby so much encouraged the Soldiers of the Garrison, that they immediately began to Fire more furiously than ever upon the Besiegers; which *Oxford* perceiving, he assaulted them likewise: Whereupon, they immediately offered to let all that were in the Castle, to march out with Bag and Baggage, nothing excepted; which being as much as they came for, the Earl accepted the Conditions, and those within marched out of the Castle, carrying with them, all the Provisions and Artillery, and were conveyed, by the Earl, to the Earl of *Richmond*.

About which time, *Richard* hearing that the Aids, which were promised to be raised, for *Richmond*, in *France*, were delayed from time to time, and were never like to be obtained by him, he sent home the greatest part of the Soldiers, which Guarded the Sea-Coast, only charging them, to be in readiness upon the least warning; and charging those, who lived on the Coast, to fire the Beacons, if they should see *Richmond* approach, and so resolved to give himself over to more pleasure than he had been able to take, since the first

News

News of *Richmond's* pretending to the Crown. The Marquess of *Dorset* likewise, who was Son to Queen *Elizabeth*, by her former Husband, being allured by the enticing Letters which his Mother sent to him, after her mutable mind was reconciled to King *Richard*, stuffed with large promises, of great Preferments by the Usurper, if he would forsake the Earl of *Richmond*, and come over to him; and withal, being discouraged by seeing how ill things were carried in the *French* Court, stole out of *Paris* in the night, and posted with all speed toward *Flanders*: But *Richmond* being informed of his departure, and being much amazed thereat, desired of the *French* King, that it might be lawful for him, in his Name, and by his Order, to seize on him, in any part of his Dominions, where they should find him. Which being granted, he sent some of his Friends to follow him through all the Roads in *Paris*, and being overtaken, by *Humphry Cheiny*, near *Campaign*, he was brought back to the Earl, to his no small joy; who, fearing that his delay might prove further disadvantageous to him, he resolved, with what Aid he could get, to adventure into *England*: And therefore, having gotten some small relief from the  
*French*

French King, for which he left, as a Pledge, the Marquess of *Dorset*, whom he now more than half mistrusted, and Sir *John Bourchier*, he departed from the French Court to *Roan*; where, while he was making Provision, and getting all things in readiness, he was advised to make all imaginable speed, in regard *Richard* prosecuted the business of marrying the young Lady with more eagerness: Wherefore he weighed Anchor, and departed from *Harfleet*, and in seven days arrived in *Wales*, where he was promised some assistance. And Landing at *Milford-Haven*, he came to *Dalle*, and from thence marched to *Harford-West*, where he was joyfully received; and whilst he was there, *Arnold Butler*, a Valiant Captain came to him, and assured him, that the Inhabitants of *Pembroke* were ready to march under their Earl's Command, to take part in his Quarrel: Upon the receiving of which News, he march'd to *Cardigan*, and as he lay there refreshing his Men, he heard that Sir *Walter Herbert*, lay incamp'd with a great Army at *Carmarthen*, with a resolution to give him Battel; which report greatly troubled him, and those that were with him, so that they began presently to put themselves into a posture of defence, and

and sent out several Horsemen to observe his Motion, who returned in a little time, and affirmed, the Country to be all still and quiet, and no news of any Army to be heard: Which was likewise confirmed by Sir *Richard Griffeth* and *John Morgan*, who came to him with their Men. The Earl, being now satisfied that the report was false, marched forward, and took in all the Places which *Richard* had Garrisoned against him, very few whereof made any resistance. And hearing another false report, that Sir *Walter Herbert*, and *Rice ap Thomas*, were preparing to incounter him, he resolved to set on them first; but when he drew near *Shrewsbury*, *Rice ap Thomas* came over to him with a good Band of *Welsh-men*, and was made Governour of *Wales*, by *Henry*, for his being the first *Welsh-man* that came to help him to recover his Kingdom: Then he sent to his Mother, and the rest of his friends, to acquaint them where he was, and how things were with him, desiring they would meet him, as soon as possible, with what Aid they could get together, which they promised to do. Whereupon, he marched from *Shrewsbury* to *Newport*, whither Sir *Gilbert Talbot* brought him two thousand Men from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; and  
when

when he was arrived at *Stafford*, *Sir William Stanley* came to him privately, and having debated with him what was to be done, he departed to his Soldiers, which he had raised to serve the Earl, at the day of Battel, but, in the mean time, pretended them for *Richard*: The Earl went from thence to *Lichfield*, and was there received like a King.

King *Richard*, who then kept his Court at *Nottingham*, being told that *Henry* was landed in *Wales*, with so inconsiderable a company, and unprovided of all things necessary for such an Enterprize, he was so infatuated, that he looked upon it as a meer trifle, not worthy to be minded, saying, *The Earl was innocent and childish, to attempt the Conquest of such a Kingdom, with so thin and despicable an Army, and that when it came to the point, that he should be compelled to fight against his will, he would be either taken alive, or slain upon the place.* But being told, by those about him, that great things were often effected by small beginnings, that this War, which he thought so inconsiderable now, might, if neglected, grow greater, and prove more fatal than he imagined; he writ to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and several other Noblemen whom he thought he might trust, to raise  
what



what Men they could among their Servants and Tenants, and commanded Sir *Robert Brakenbury* to bring with him Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and divers other Persons of Quality, whom he suspected, the better to secure them from going over to the Earl. But whilst he was thus preparing an Army to impede the Earl's farther progress, he received the unwelcom tydings, that he had, without any opposition, passed the *Severn*, and was advanced as far as *Shrewsbury*, with a design to march directly to *London*; and he was so grieved and enraged thereat, that he imprecated Vengeance upon those who, contrary to their Oaths and Promises, had thus deceived him, and became so distrustful of others, that he resolved the same day, to advance against his Rival himself, and immediately sent away some to learn where he was, and observe his motion. And understanding by them, that the Earl was incamp'd at *Litchfield*, he advanced towards him in the following order: First he caused his Battales to advance four and four in a rank, after them Carriages, followed by his Satellites and Yeomen of the Crown, who being all passed, himself, with a frowning countenance and dreadful aspect, mounted on

on a stately white Courser, followed with his Footmen, the Wings of Horsemen coasting and ranging themselves on every side of him; in which manner he came to *Leicester* about Sunset, and entred the Town in great pomp and splendor.

*Henry*, hearing of *Richard's* resolution, raised his Camp, and marched towards him: Whereupon Sir *Thomas Bouchier*, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and the rest of the Gentlemen, whom *Brakenbury* had brought with him from *London*, according to *Richard's* command, forsook him, and went to *Henry*; who, in his march to *Tamworth*, met with a strange Adventure, for being extreemly troubled, that he could not be secure of his Father-in-Law, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, (who fearing if he should declare himself for the Earl, before the day of Battel, his Son, the Lord *Strange*, whom he left with *Richard*, as an Hostage, would be cruelly put to death, still pretended for *Richard*) he became melancholy and pensive, and musing with himself what was best to be done, he lingred so long behind, that by reason of his distance from the Army and the darkness of the Night, he could not see which way to follow them; whereupon, after having in vain wandred several ways, in hope of finding them

them, he went to a little Village, about three Miles from his Army, being accompanied with three Horsemen only, where he tarried all Night, not daring to ask any Question, for fear of being discovered and betrayed. Nor was he less perplexed in the Morning, for fear of being intercepted by some of *Richard's* Scouts, in his return to his Army, which was as much amazed and troubled, at his absence, as himself. But being return'd to them, in safety, he pretended he went out of the way, on purpose to hear some glad tidings from his Friends, and the same Evening he stole away privately and went to *Anderston*, where he understood his Father-in-Law and his Brother, *Sir William Stanley*, then resided with their Men, who came to him in a short time, and after mutual embraces, consulted with him how to give King *Richard* Battel. The same Evening *Sir John Savage*, and divers other Persons of Quality, forsook *Richard's* Camp, and came and submitted themselves to him.

King *Richard* departed from *Leicester* to *Market-Bosworth*, and incamped himself in an adjoining Field, which was convenient for the Battel; whereupon the Earl removed thither, and pitch'd his  
Camp

Camp juſt by his Enemies. In the Morning early, *Richard* brought his Men out of their Camp, and placed them in Battel-array, and diſpoſed his Van-guard of a wonderful length, in which he placed both Horſe-men and Foot-men, hoping thereby to ſtrike a ſudden terror into the heart of his Enemies, and in the fore-front he placed his Archers, like a ſtrong fortified Trench or Bulwark, all which was commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*. After this followed King *Richard* himſelf, with a ſtrong Body of choſen Men, having Horſemen on both ſides of his Battel. After which the Earl prepared to give him Battel, and ſuppoſing the Lord *Stanly* (who then lay in an indifferent place between both Armies) to be better acquainted with Martial Affairs than himſelf, he deſired him to come to help him in ordring the Battel: But he made answer, That he would have him do it himſelf, and he would not fail to come to him in time convenient, when it might be moſt for the Earl's ſervice and his own ſafety. The Earl was not well pleaſed with this Answer, but ſeeing there was no remedy, he undertook it, and diſpoſed his Battel in the following order: He ordred his Van-guard, commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*,

ford, single and slender in regard of the small number of his Army, in the front whereof he placed his Archers, the Right Wing he gave to Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the Left to Sir John Savage, and himself commanded the Main Battel. And when he had thus ordred his small Host, not exceeding 5000 Men, he rid from Rank to Rank, and Wing to Wing, to incourage his Men, being armed at all points, except his Helmet, and mounting himself upon a Hill, so that all his Army might see him, he bespake their Courage and Valour, in Words to this effect :

*Brave Friends and Followers,*

‘ If ever God gave Victory to Men,  
 ‘ fighting in a Just Quarrel, or aided those  
 ‘ who fought for the Welfare of their  
 ‘ Country, and adventured their Lives for  
 ‘ the relief of the innocent, then I am confident  
 ‘ he will this day give us a triumphant  
 ‘ Victory, for nothing can be more  
 ‘ honest and commendable, than to fight  
 ‘ against one who is a Homicide and Murderer  
 ‘ of his own Blood and Progeny, an  
 ‘ Usurper and a Tyrant. *Tarquin* was bereaved  
 ‘ of his Kingdom for his Tyranny, altho’ his  
 ‘ fault was not so detestable as the inhumane  
 ‘ fact of cruel *Nero*. But behold yonder  
 ‘ Tyrant, against whom  
 ‘ we

we are to fight, is both *Tarquin* and  
*Nero*; nay, is worse than either, than  
both of them; For he hath not only  
murthered his Nephew, who was his  
King and Sovereign, bastardized his  
Noble Brethren, defamed the Womb of  
his Vertuous and Religious Mother, but  
also indeavoured, by all imaginable ways,  
carnally to know his Niece, under the  
pretence of a cloaked Matrimony; which  
Lady I have promised, and sworn to  
marry and make my Wife, as you all  
know. Now, if this Cause be not Just  
and Godly, let God, who is the only gi-  
ver of Victory, judge and determine.  
We have passed the Dangers of the  
Seas and the Snares of our Enemies, and  
are now come to the place which we have  
so long sought for, and have found the  
furious Boar, whom we have so long in-  
quired after; let us therefore set on him  
with an assurance of Victory, since we  
have with us both God and good For-  
tune. If we had come to Conquer *Wales*,  
and had atchieved it, our Honour had  
been great and our profit more; but if  
we win this Battel, *England*, with all its  
Dependencies, will be ours. Remember  
with your selves, that before us are our  
Enemies, on each side of us such as we  
know

know not how to trust, so that we are in-  
 viron'd by our assured Enemies and our  
 doubtful Friends; Therefore lay aside  
 fear, and let us all resolve to make this  
 the end of our Hope and the Reward of  
 our Valour, either in an honorable Death  
 or a triumphant Victory: Remember,  
 that Victory is not gotten by the multi-  
 tude of Men; but by the courage of  
 Hearts and valiantness of Minds, and  
 therefore the smaller our Number, the  
 more glorious will it be to us if we van-  
 quish, and the more honourable if we  
 dye. And this one thing I assure you,  
 that in so just a Quarrel, I resolve this  
 day to be left as a dead Carrion upon the  
 ground, rather than to be a free Prisoner  
 on a Carpet in a Lady's Chamber. Let  
 us therefore fight like invincible Gyants,  
 set on our Enemies like enraged Tygers,  
 banish fear like ramping Lyons; And  
 let us advance forward like true Loyalists  
 against a company of base Traitors,  
 rightful Inheritors against false Usur-  
 pers; And, like the Scoorges of God  
 against Tyrants, display my Banner with  
 Courage, march forth like strong and  
 robustious Champions, and begin the  
 Battel like hardy and invincible Con-  
 querors: The Battel is at hand, and  
 Victory



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' Victory approaching to us ; and if we  
' shamefully recoil, or cowardly fly, both  
' we and all that belongs to us will be de-  
' stroyed and dishonoured for ever. Gain  
' or Loss, Victory or Slavery, is this day  
' offered to your choice ; therefore over-  
' come and be Conquerors, or lose the day  
' and be Villains: Let us therefore advance  
' with an undaunted Courage, and set upon  
' that haughty Army before us, with a re-  
' solution to Conquer : And God give us  
' Success.

Between both Armies there was a great Marsh, which the Earl left on the left-hand, that so it might defend him on that side, and that he might have the Sun on his Back, and in the Face of his Enemy ; which when *Richard* saw, he commanded those in the Front of his Army to set upon them : Whereupon the Trumpets blew, the Soldiers shouted, and the King's Archers courageously let fly their Arrows ; Nor did the Earl's Bow-men stand idle, but paid them home again with equal fury : which being once over, the Armies joined, and came to handy-strokes, wherein neither Sword nor Bill were spared. The Earl of *Oxford*, fearing lest

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whilst his Company was fighting, they should be inclosed, and circumvented by the multitudes of his Enemies, gave command, that no man should stir above ten Foot from the Standard; whereupon they knit themselves together, and ceased a little from fighting; which being perceived by their adversaries, who knew not the reason of it, they began to fear it was done out of some fraudulent design to intrap them, and therefore forbore fighting also: But the Earl, having thus gotten his Men together, set on his Enemies afresh, who made but a faint resistance.

*Richard* being in the mean time advertised, that *Henry* was but slenderly guarded with Men at Arms, immediately left his Battel, and, like an enraged lion, with his Spear in Rest, ran towards him, bearing down and overthrowing his Standard, and slaying his Standard-Bearer, *Sir William Brandon*, Father to *Sir Charles Brandon*, who was afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*. Then he overthrew *Sir John Cheney*, a Gentleman of great Courage and Strength, who indeavoured to resist him; whereby he made an open passage to the Earl of *Richmond*, who kept

kept him at the Sword's point, without giving him any advantage longer than was expected either by his Friends or Enemies. At which time the Lord *Stanley*, observing *Henry's* Men began to flag, as tho' they despaired of Victory, he thought it the fittest time to declare whose side he intended to take; and therefore sent three thousand stout Men to the Earl's assistance, under the Command of his Brother, Sir *William Stanley*, who entered the Fight with such Fury and Courage, that they forced the Usurper's Forces to fly; whereupon some of *Richard's* Friends, seeing how things went, brought him a swift Horse, and persuaded him to save himself by flight. But he answered, *No, I will not fly, for I am resolved this day shall finish all Battels, or else I will finish my Life:* And so, closing his Helmet, and thrusting himself forward into the thickest of his Enemies, he died fighting, and left the Victory and his Crown, as the consequence of it, to Earl *Henry*. There died in this Battel, on both sides, about 4000 Men, whereof not above one hundred of them were on the Earl's side, the chief whereof was Sir *William Brandon*.

The Earl, having thus obtained the Victory, kneeled down and returned Thanks to God, begging of him, that he would give him Grace to defend and advance Religion, and maintain Justice and Concord among his Subjects. Then the People rejoiced and clapped their hands, crying out, King *Henry*, King *Idenry*. And the Lord *Stanly* set King *Richard's* Crown, which was found among the Spoils of the Field, upon his Head; after which they removed to *Leicester*, whither the Body of the slain Usurper was likewise carried, being thrown across a Horse, behind a Pursuivant at Arms, naked, without so much as any thing to cover his Privy-Members, his Head and Arms hanging on one side of the Horse, and his Legs on the other.

From *Leicester*, *Henry* marched to *London*, where he was gladly received, and was, on the 30 of *Aug.* 1485. Crowned King at *Westminster*. And, that he might the better secure the Crown to him and his Posterity, he sent the Earl of *Warwick*, who was Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and the only Heir Male of the House of *Tork*, to the Tower. Then he instituted a Guard for his Person, consisting

listing of a Company of choice Archers,  
 whom he called the Yeomen of his Guard.  
 And presently after, a Parliament was  
 called, wherein *Richard*, and divers of those  
 who were most firm to his Interest, were  
 Attainted, and a free Pardon granted to  
 all such, except those excepted by name,  
 as should presently submit themselves to  
 the King's Mercy: And all former Acts,  
 which were any way prejudicial to the  
 King or his Friends, were likewise repeal-  
 ed, and the Crown established upon the  
 King and his Heirs for ever.

And, in the *January* following, he was  
 married to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and there-  
 by put a final period to that unhappy  
 and fatal War, between the two Houses  
 of *York* and *Lancaster*; but although all  
 pretences of War were now removed, yet  
 there were some, who, under feigned  
 ones, somewhat disquieted those serene  
 days: For, the Lord *Lovel*, one of *Richard*'s  
 chief Favourites, Sir *Humphry Stafford*,  
 and some others, assembled Men to-  
 gether against the King, but upon the re-  
 port of an Armies coming against them,  
 they dispersed themselves, and *Stafford*  
 fled to Sanctuary, from whence he was  
 taken, and Executed at *Tyburn*. Which

Storm was no sooner over, but the *Yorkists* raised another, and that they might the better delude the ignorant to take part with them, they procured *Lambert Symnel*, a Man of a mean and obscure Birth, to Personate one of King *Edward's* Sons; who being conveyed by them into *Ireland*, the *Irish*, who had always affected the House of *York*, espoused his Quarrel, as the true Heir of that Family, and, in *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*, Crowned him King of *England*. Upon which, the Dutchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, who was Sister to *Edward* the Fourth, although she knew *Lambert* to be an Impostor, and not her Brother's Son, yet, out of hatred to the House of *Lancaster*, sent him two Thousand Soldiers, under the Command of Colonel *Swart*; with which, and those *English* and *Irish* that joyned him, he Landed at the Pool of *Fowdrey* in *Lancashire*, and from thence marched through *York-shire* towards *Newark*, every where Proclaiming himself King: But at *Stoke*, a little Village near *Newark*, King *Henry* gave him Battel. The Fight continued doubtful for about three hours, but, at length, Victory placed her self under the Royal Banner. On *Lambert's* part

part were slain the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Level*, Sir *Thomas Broke*, Colonel *Smart*, and *Maurice-Fitz-Thomas*, with about four Thousand Soldiers. On the King's side, fell not any Man of Honour, but almost all his Vantguard was cut off, so that he obtain'd not the Garland without having it first dipt in Blood. Among those who were taken, was the Counterfeit King, and *Richard Simon*, a Priest, who had been his Tutor when a Scholar in *Oxford*. *Lambert*, being thus taken, was examined by the King, and having confessed the vvhole Contrivance, and acknowledg'd himself to be but of a mean Parentage, had his Life spared, and vvas only Condemned to the King's Scullery; but, at length, advanced to be one of his Faulconers, in vvhich condition he continued till he died: His Tutor vvas Condemned to perpetual Imprisonment.

The Dutcheffs of *Burgundy*, whose hatred to the House of *Lancaster* vwould not indure that *Henry* should enjoy a quiet possession of the *English* Crowne, hearing how ill the late Project had succeeded, provided another Counterfeit King to disturb his peaceful Reign,



which new Counterfeit, was *Peter Warbeck*, or, as some call him, *Perkin*, the Son of a Converted Jew; He was a Youth of a Brave and Princely Personage, and being sent, by her, to the French King, under the Name and Title of *Richard Plantagenet Duke of York*, second Son to *Edward IV.* he had great Honour given him by the King. And divers Persons of Eminence, in *England*, were so deluded, that they believed him to be the true *Richard*; and thereupon sought to advance him to the Crown for attempting it, and among the rest, *Sir William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain. The King likewise, caused the Sea-Coast to be strongly guarded, and sent new Officers into *Ireland*, who punished those who had given any assistance to the Mock-King, and indeavoured to restrain those who were likely to do so in time to come. But *Perkin* having obtained private assistance from the French King, and from *Maximilian* Emperor of *Germany*, he departed into *Scotland*, having special recommendations from the French King, and the Dutchess of *Burgundy* to the King of *Scotland*, who gave him Royal entertainment, believing him to be the true *Richard*. When he was first introduced to the King's presence, he did, with a right Princely Gracefulness, assure him, That *Edward the Fourth*, King of *England*, leaving two Sons, *Edward* and *Richard*, both very young, their maternal uncle *Richard*, to obtain the Crown, resolved on, and accordingly commanded the murder of them both; but the instruments of his Cruelty, having murdered his elder Brother, the young King, were moved with pity to spare his Life: And, that being thus saved by the mercy of God, he was conveyed beyond the Seas, where he lived so privately, that all men supposed him to have been murdered with his Brother. And that therefore, *Henry Teuder*, Earl of *Richmond*, having, by  
base

base and suble methods obtained the Crown, indeavoured, by all imaginable means, to procure the final destruction of him the Rightful Heir, falsely affirming him to be a feigned Person, and giving him many idle and ridiculous Nick-names, thereby to abuse the World into a belief of his being a mere Impostor. And, that fearing all this might not be sufficient to deprive him of his Right, he had likewise offered large sums of Money to corrupt the Princes, by whom he was entertained, and had employed some of his own Servants to Murder him; whereby, every Man of reason might easily perceive his pretence to be real, since Henry would have had no need of using those shifts, if he had been only a feigned Person. Adding, that his cause was so evidently Just and True, that it had moved the King of France, and his most dear Aunt, the Dutchess of Burgundy, to yield him their assistance. And that the Kings of Scotland, being always wont to help and support those who were spoiled and deprived of the Kingdom of England; and that he having given sufficient demonstration that he was of the Noble Quality and Temper, he a poor, distress'd and oppress'd Prince, had adventured to put himself into his hands, hoping that he would, according to the accustomed Goodness of Himself and Ancestors, Aid and Assist him in the recovering of his Realms, promising, that when he was possessed of his Kingdom, he would do him, all the pleasure that should lye in his utmost Power.

The King of Scots was so influenced by this Impostors confident Speech, his comely Person and Princely Port, and deluded by the recommendation of Princes, the Aids he had received from the Irish, and promises of more from the English, that he gave his consent, that this pretended Duke and Heir to the Crown of England, should Marry the Lady Katharine Gourdon, Daughter to the Earl of Huntley; which accordingly he did, and also prepared to In-  
vade

vade *England* in his Quarrel: Although many of his Nobles opposed it, and advised him to repute this pretended Duke only as a Cheat.

King *Henry*, that he might prepare for the *Scots*, called a Parliament, which granted him a *Subsidy* of Sixscore Thousand Pound, the Levying whereof kindled a dangerous Fire in *England*; for when the Collectors came among the *Cornish-men*, they refused to pay it, and assembled together, after a tumultuous manner, under the Leading of *Thomas Flam-mock* a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Blacksmith, who led their *Rout* towards *Kent*; at *Wells* the Lord *Audley* joined with them, from whence they marched to *Black-bearb*, where they were overthrown by the King's Forces, and *Audley*, *Flammock*, and the Smith, were all taken: the first whereof was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and the other two were quartered, the Smith comforting himself, as he went towards the place of Execution, with the hopes of having, by this means, made his Name everlasting. This Rebellion being thus stilled, *Henry* sent away the Earl of *Surrey* with an Army to invade the *Scotch* Borders, who pursued the revenge with great vehemency: But in a short time a Truce was concluded on between the two Nations, by the Mediation of the King of *Spain*; one Article whereof was, That *Perkin* should be no longer fostered in *Scotland*; who there-upon withdrew into *Ireland*; from whence the *Cornish-men* invited him to come over to them, promising to venter their Lives and Fortunes in his Cause; whereupon he landed at *Whitesand-Bay* in *Cornwall*; and had, upon his arrival, some Thousands of People resorted to him. Which *Henry* hearing of, smiled, and said, *Lo, we are once again provoked by this Prince of Rake-Hells; But, lest my People ignorantly be drawn into destruction, we will endeavour to take this Perkin by*  
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the easiest way we can : and thereupon sent away the Earl of *Devonshire*, who relieved the City of *Exeter*, which was besieged by him, and drove him from those parts. Whereat the Rebels being discouraged, and hearing withal what other Preparations were making against them, began to drop away from their new King ; whereat *Perkin* was so possessed with fear, that he likewise fled and took Sanctuary at *Beaulieu* in *New Forest*. But, upon the King's Promise of Life and Oblivion of his Crimes, he came forth and yielded himself into the King's hands, by whose order he was conveyed to *London* ; where the King, by curious enquiry and often examination of him, learn'd all the contrivance of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, which he caused to be published. But *Perkin* soon after, endeavouring to make his escape from those who had the charge of him, after undergoing of some publick shame for his attempt, was committed to the *Tower* ; where he endeavour'd to corrupt his Keepers, to set himself, and the Earl of *Warwick*, at liberty ; to which design of escaping, the Earl of *Warwick* was said to have consented. *Perkin* was tried for his Conspiracy, and, being condemned, was hang'd, drawn and quartered, at *Tyburn*.

And *Warwick* being publicly arraigned, for endeavouring to escape out of the *Tower*, that so he might raise Rebellion against the King, and deprive him of his Crown and Dignity : All which the Earl was persuaded by some, who pretended themselves his Friends, to confess ; for which he lost his Head upon *Tower-bill*. He was the last Heir-Male of the House of *York*. And the *Spaniards*, with whose Daughter *Henry* desired to match his eldest Son, *Arthur*, were of the opinion, that there could be no ground of Succession whilst he lived ; which was verily thought to be the chief cause of his death.

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And Queen *Catherine*, when *Henry* the Eighth, to whom she was afterwards married, upon the death of *Arthur*, sued out his Divorce against her, said, *It was the Hand of God upon her, because that, to clear the way to the Marriage, the innocent Earl of Warwick was put to an untimely death.*

And thus ended that Bloody, Unnatural and Fatal War, which had lasted about 106 Years, being first commenced by *Henry* Earl of *Derby* and Duke of *Lancaster*, in the Year 1398, and received its final period from *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, in the death of the aforesaid Earl of *Warwick* about the Year 1504.

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